BYZANTIUM AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 1979

edited by
Margaret Mullett and Roger Scott

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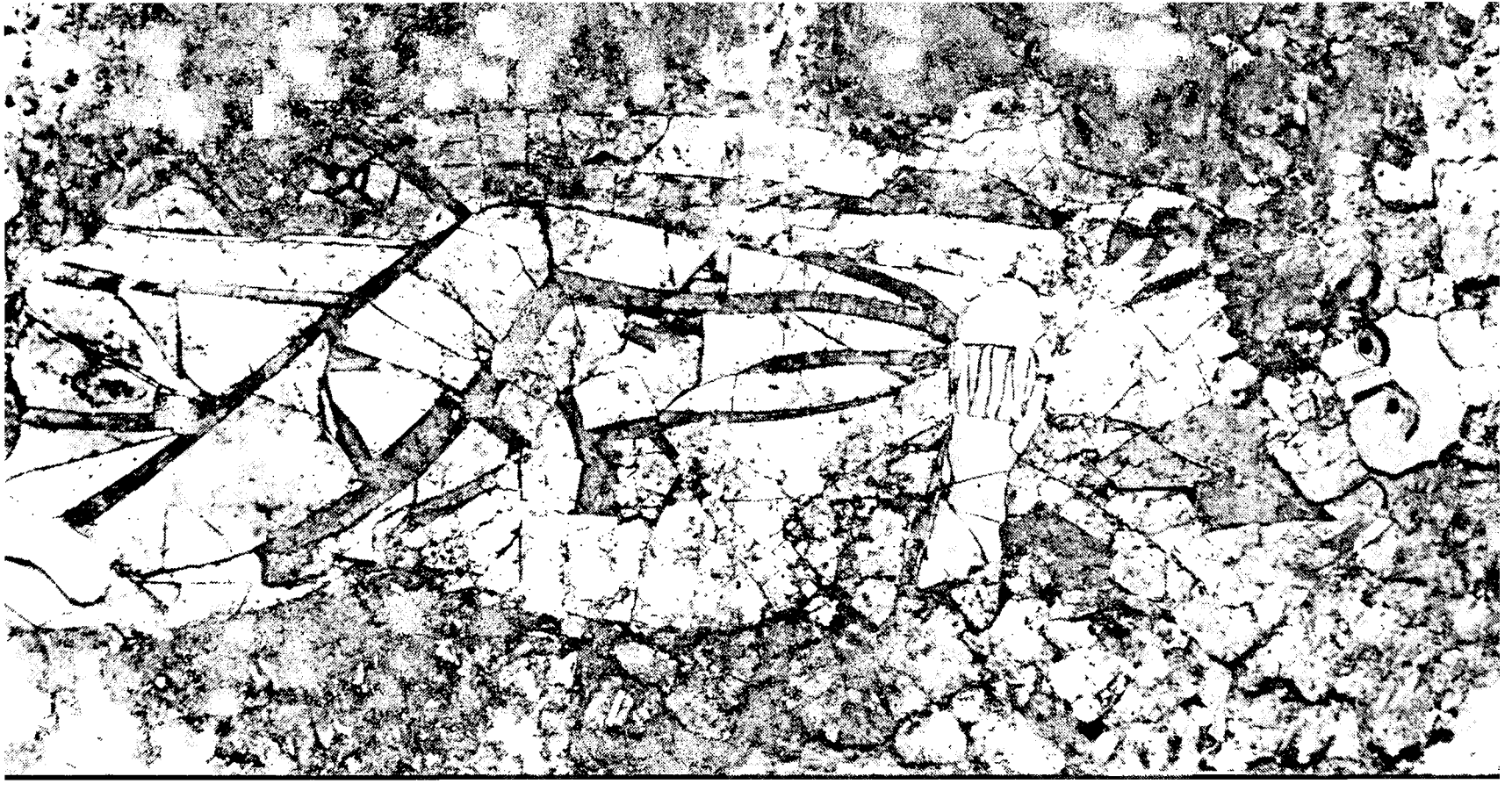

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Editors' Preface

We have followed the system of abbreviations laid down in "Style Guide for the Dumbarton Oaks Papers", *DOP,* 26 (1972), 363-5; and in "Dumbarton Oaks List of Abbreviations", *DOP,* 27 (1973), 329-39, with the addition of *BS* for *Byzantino-slavica* and *BMGS* for *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.* No such helpful guide exists for the transliteration of Greek, and we know better than to make any pretence of consistency. Instead we have followed those of our contributors who place a great emphasis on the late sixth and early seventh centuries and have made this period the cutting point between two irreconcilable systems of transliteration, the Latinised and the pure Greek.

We are grateful to the organisers (and in particular Mr Geoffrey Hooker) of the seventy-fifth anniversary meeting of the Classical Association for allowing us to print the first two papers in this volume, which more properly belonged to their part of the conference, and to the Past and Present Society for permission to reprint Professor Cameron's paper first published in *Past and Present,* 34 (1979), 3-35. We must also thank Joyce Kirkpatrick for her expert typing of the Greek and Margaret Beattie for her patient retyping of many contributions and for much additional editorial help. Ken, Diana and Nicola Wardle sustained an editorial Easter with hospitality, reference works and amused tolerance; Bryer invented the Birmingham symposia and made the decision to record what was for us a memorable meeting: to them go our greatest thanks.

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Introduction

MARGARET MULLETT and ROGER SCOTT

The Centre for Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham held its Thirteenth Spring Symposium from April 6th to 10th 1979 in conjunction with the Classical Association of Great Britain which was celebrating both its own seventy-fifth birthday and the centenary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. To mark such longevity and the confluence of interests, the subject chosen was the *Classical Tradition*. The conference was directed by a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Alan Douglas representing the School of Hellenic and Roman Studies and the Centre for Byzantine Studies at Birmingham as well as the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and wider Midland classical interests.

The editors were not privy to the discussion which went on before the programme was arranged but it is clear that the committee was determined from the start to examine the relationship between Byzantium and the classical world in a way which did not imply that Byzantium was simply the "carrier" of the tradition through the Middle Ages. There was to be far less emphasis on the transmission of texts and more on the use made in Byzantium of classical models, already foreshadowed in literature by Professor Hunger[1] and the art world by Professor Mango.[2] There would be some consideration of the relationship between the ancient world and the Middle Ages, but it was not to become a sterile argument over continuity.[3] In general the meeting did take this positive attitude, with the accent on Byzantine creativity, on the empire's non-Greek elements, on profound transformations of Byzantine society and culture. The classical tradition itself was not taken for granted: precisely what was passed on and why? Only with rhetoric did we feel that we had found an important "carrier" of antique standards; even there important nuances were added by Professors Hunger and Maguire. There was considerable coming and going between the two meetings and we did not feel like a Great Symposium in Captivity, although there were unfortunate clashes: no one for example could hear both Keith Bate on the twelfth-century West and Roger Scott on historiography, nor except by a feast of bilocation consider simultaneously the Roman cities of Wroxeter and Aphrodisias.

1. E.g. H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (*mimesis*) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-70), 15-38.
2. E.g. C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *DOP*, 17 (1963), 53-75.
3. See below, C. Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium", 48-57.

Many classicists came to gaze on the wall-paintings of Mistra but for Byzantinists time was short and there was no relaxation in the usual punishing pace of Byzantine symposia.

We started on the Friday evening with Professor GEORGE KENNEDY on "The Classical Tradition in Rhetoric" (pp.20-34). After a reception given by the Vice-Chancellor symposiasts heard Professor JOHN BARRON speak on "Theseus, Athens and the Delian League" or visited the Barber Institute, where the Barber and Whitting collections were on display.

On the Saturday, classicists and Byzantinists went their separate ways and as the classical proceedings have been published[4] we shall follow the Byzantinists, first to communications on *Byzantine Art and Demography*, chaired by JOE PENNYBACKER and WESAM FARAJ. The Birmingham Demography Project was explained, LASKARINA BOURAS dated the Leo cross (pp.179-87) and there were two papers on manuscript illumination from Dr I. SPATHARAKIS and LIAM GALLAGHER which will be published elsewhere. Dr BOŽENA ROSTKOWSKA (pp.149-54) was unable to be present but her communication was read by Professor ANTHONY BRYER. A major lecture on "Classical Art in the Wall-Paintings of Mistra" followed which we hope Professor DOULA MOURIKI will shortly publish with the detailed colour photographs it deserves. In the afternoon there were communications on *The Byzantine Church, Neighbours and Heritage* chaired by MARY CUNNINGHAM and MICHAEL MARTIN: several of these looked forward to the Fourteenth Spring Symposium on the Byzantine Saint and one, that of Dr ANNA CRABBE, will be published in the proceedings in a companion volume to this one.[5] Dr ALANNA EMMETT reminded us of the importance of women's communities in early monasticism and the Rev JOSEPH MUNITIZ presented the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius of Sinai. Dr LENNART RYDEN gave a paper on "The Hebrew Second Vision of Daniel and the Date of the Life of Andreas Salos". The Eastern frontiers of Byzantium were represented by Professor DICKRAN KOUYMJIAN (pp.155-71) and, more remotely, by Dr JANA HOWLETT (pp.172-8). The evening lecture was to have been given by Professor NICOLAS SVORONOS who was unable to come; at three days' notice ROBIN CORMACK talked instead on "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: the Art and Archaeology of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias" (pp.103-19).

Sunday was perhaps the most important day for Byzantinists. It began with communications on *Byzantine Archaeology* chaired by SIMON BENDALL, Professor MARTIN HARRISON and Dr ROWLAND MAINSTONE. A pair of complementary papers looked at the effects of invasion on the Lower Danube, ANDREW POULTER examining the destruction of settlement and NUBAR

4. "Report of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary General Meeting", *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, 76 (1979), 23-46.
5. *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel, published as a supplement to *Sobornost/ECR*, is available from the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, St Basil's House, 52 Ladbroke Grove, London, W11 2PB, for about £5.50.

HAMPARTUMIAN pointing to the transfer and survival of classical art motifs (pp.191-204). Professor HANS BUCHWALD then talked on "Church EA at Sardis – Late Constantinian?"; Professor ASHER OVADIAH presented "The excavation in the area of the Synagogue at Gaza" and Dr PETER BURRIDGE gave an illustrated talk on "The Monastery of the Pantokrator on Mount Athos". Professor HERBERT HUNGER then raised questions for all the subsequent literary papers in his "The Classical Tradition of Byzantine Literature: Rhetoric" (pp.35-47) and ROGER SCOTT applied them to historiography (pp.61-74) after which there was a lively discussion. After tea, Professor AVERIL CAMERON examined the internal changes in Constantinopolitan society and the emergence of a new cohesion in the late sixth century, but one in which "classical culture for a time quietly took a back seat" (pp.205-34). In the last paper of the day Professor ALAN CAMERON introduced us to a revival of interest in the epigram in tenth-century Thessalonike; his paper will form part of his forthcoming book on the Greek Anthology and a summary has appeared in *Abstracts of the Byzantine Studies Conference,* 3 (1979).

Monday continued the literary emphasis with a series of communications, by Dr. WARREN TREADGOLD (pp.123-6) on Photios, by Dr. CONSTANTINE NIARCHOS on eleventh-century philosophy (pp.127-35), emphasizing the influence of Proclus, by ATHANASSIOS ANGELOU on Nicholas of Methone, tracing the Proclus story to twelfth-century disillusionment (pp.143-8), and by Dr. W.J. AERTS on a new fragment of Psellos' *Chronographia.* Dr. ANN MOFFATT surprised us by talking about "The Letters of Theophylact Simocatta in the Classical Tradition" not in terms of revival in the late sixth century of interest in the fictional epistle, but in terms of Renaissance interest in Byzantine literature. Professor ANTONY LITTLEWOOD gave a paper on the *progymnasmata* of John Geometres which will be published in the next volume of *JÖB;* he has kindly offered us instead a short article on an aspect of Psellos' imagery (pp.136-42). MARGARET MULLETT then spoke on the Byzantine letter (pp.75-93) and Professor HENRY MAGUIRE explained the intricate connexion between art and literature in the ekphrasis (pp.94-102). After an exhausting day the conference relaxed with the Jubilee Dinner at which Sir STEVEN RUNCIMAN restored faith and energy with a short talk.

There were films on Roman surveying, on The Art of the Medieval Scribe and a nostalgic revival of the 1973 videotape of the Game of the Nineteen Beds, exhibitions at the Barber Institute and the City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, a visit to the Birmingham Repertory Company's production of Molière's *Misanthrope* and a concert of Music in the Classical Tradition. Various meetings were held, ranging from the Council of the Classical Association to a local synod of the Association of the Alumni of Dumbarton Oaks. The symposium closed as usual with a feast, not, for once, gluttonously in University House, but with Professor CYRIL MANGO's paper on "Discontinuity with the Past in Byzantium" (pp.48-57): he

was preaching perhaps to the converted since the classicists were safely attending their Annual General Meeting.

The papers presented here are largely devoted to the role of the classical tradition in the Byzantine world, but we are lucky to have two papers, those of Professor ROBERT BOLGAR and Professor GEORGE KENNEDY (pp.7-34) which give a more general perspective to this volume and underline the link between the two disciplines at the conference. The papers fall into four sections which reflect the major themes presented at the symposium. First there is the nature of the classical tradition, the underlying importance of rhetoric, and, in contrast, the break between the Byzantine and the ancient world. This combination of tradition and change is explored in the second section, which examines the place of the classical tradition in three genres usually thought to be classical in inspiration, and in that basic element of the classical world, the provincial city. The variety of the classical tradition, discussed in our opening paper, was emphasized in the range of communications offered by symposiasts and a selection of these forms our third section: "People, Places and Things". Finally we have three papers on a period which impressed us all as crucial to the survival of the classical tradition in Byzantium, namely the late sixth and early seventh centuries.

This arrangement has meant abandoning the order in which the papers were actually given. Nor have we been able to include all the papers from the symposium, partly because of prior publication commitments and partly because communications at the symposium were not confined to the classical tradition. We have added Professor LITTLEWOOD's alternative contribution and hope that the publication of Dr. ROSTKOWSKA's paper may be some consolation to her for not being able to attend the symposium itself. But in general this is intended as a simple record of a very instructive and enjoyable weekend.

DEFINITIONS OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

The Classical Tradition: Legend and Reality

ROBERT BOLGAR

The classical tradition has its own potent legend. It conjures up for us the humanists of the Renaissance, the great textual critics, the many writers, artists and architects who took antiquity for their model and created a neoclassical Europe. It conjures up the public schools of Victorian England with their cult of the "grand, old, fortifying, classical curriculum". It conjures up as its heroes and champions, Petrarch and Erasmus, Bentley and Housman, Ronsard, Milton, Racine, Goethe and Matthew Arnold, Donatello, Brunelleschi and Raphael, men whose genius was devoted to the study or creation of masterpieces in literature, thought, and art.

But turn from legend to fact; and the picture has to change. Viewed historically, the classical tradition must be defined as the exploitation of the heritage left to us by the two great civilizations of Greece and Rome and the influence which that exploitation was able to exert. What historians have to consider in this context is a huge and intractably heterogeneous complex of phenomena. A civilization embraces more than just the exalted spheres of literary, philosophical and artistic achievement, more than just masterpieces. It embraces religion and superstition, science and technology, law, political organization and administrative practice, the conduct of war, physical training, the upbringing of children, and even sexual and eating habits. It is true that these ancient civilizations have perished for the most part, and we are concerned only with the little that has survived. But even that small sample – our classical heritage – is necessarily complex and varied. Moreover, its impact on subsequent generations has extended over thirteen centuries and has affected peoples who were at very different stages of cultural development. Complex as the classical heritage is, its influence has been even more so.

When we set ourselves to examine the influence of the ancient world in a systematic way, we find that many of the features of European culture that are commonly regarded as alien to the classical spirit had their roots in Greece and Rome. We find that we must look beyond that literary humanism, which G. Toffanin and C.S. Lewis rightly condemned as restrictive, beyond the frontiers of Platonic and Aristotelian thought, and beyond the principles of neoclassical art. And though it would be stupid and tasteless not to admire Racine or Goethe's *Iphigenie* or Botticelli's *Primavera,* we must in the last analysis accept that antiquity did more than just set an Apollonian stamp on the literature and art of later ages.

Antiquity's eldest daughter was the Christian Church. This evident fact is often overlooked since the early Christians were anxious to emphasize the uniqueness of

their faith and so tended to camouflage their debt to pagan culture. But when one takes this into account, the camouflage is easy to penetrate. You have to dig deep, the proverb says, to bury your daddy, and the early Fathers did no more than raise a dust cloud.

The philosophical debt of Christianity to Greek thought is well known and need not detain us long. The original Christian message – this seems at least to be the accepted picture – was formed independently of Greek influence. That the universe is the work of a Creator who is the source of all life, that history follows a linear course moving towards a discernible climax, that Christ came as a Messiah to set up a holy community, His Church, that would prepare for this final consummation, these beliefs, implicit in the gospel story, did not have their roots in pagan thought. But very soon, already in the epistles of St Paul, they were embellished with Stoic interpretations. Soon we find the Platonic Logos at the beginning of the fourth gospel; and by the second century A.D. we see deliberate efforts made to explain Christian teaching in terms that would be intelligible to minds trained in pagan philosophy.

It is natural enough that this should have occurred. No man can think in categories that diverge totally from those used by his contemporaries; and it is certain that no system of ideas can gain popular acceptance, if it is wholly divorced from the thought of its time. So Justin came to stress the identification of Christ with the Logos, believed with the Stoics that every man has a small part of universal Reason within him and interpreted redemption as a deliverance from Necessity. So too Clement of Alexandria praised the usefulness of logic and philosophy for understanding religious truth, adopted the Platonic doctrine of the soul and was ready to describe the Christian ethic as a following of Nature, a concept likely to find favour with his Stoic readers.[1]

> Many philosophers (Origen informs us) say that there is one God who created the world; some have added that God both made and rules all things by his Logos. Again in Ethics and in their account of the natural world, they almost all agree with us. But they disagree when they assert that matter is co-eternal with God, when they deny that providence extends to the sublunary world, when they imagine that the power of the stars determines our lives or that the world will never cease to exist.[2]

"They agree with us" says Origen; and the agreement makes it plain that pagans and Christians must have employed the same metaphysical, ethical, and cosmological categories. Even their disagreements are, as he states them, evidence of that same solidarity. Like their pagan opponents the Christians thought in terms of necessary and contingent beings, spirit and matter, eternity and time, transcendence and immanence, providence and free will, a ladder of being and survival after death.

1. H. Chadwick, "The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy: Justin: The Gnostics" and "Clement of Alexandria", *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy*, ed. A.H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1967), 158-181.
2. Origen, *Homeliae in Genesim*, XIV.3, ed. L. Doutreleau (SC, 7 bis, Paris, 1976), 341.

All this was in train even before St Augustine came on the scene, though he is the theologian who, as Père Fortin tells us, preferred more than any other to work within the context of pagan philosophy[3] and has been popularly credited with giving Christianity a Platonist orientation. But by the time he became a convert, Christian speculation was already firmly established within a pagan mould. All he really did was to direct its development in line with the ideas of his favourite, Plato.

The theologians' indebtedness to ancient philosophy was a product of straightforward and eminently explicable borrowing. But Christianity also owed another debt to the pagan world, whose character is less easy to define. The original gospel story may have been quite independent of Graeco-Roman influence, but it can be seen to have possessed a number of features which meet us elsewhere in the pre-Christian world. We hear repeatedly for example of the god that dies and then returns to life. We hear of redemption through faith bolstered by ascetic practices. The puzzling eleventh book of the *Golden Ass* is just one example of this sort of belief. We do not, it is true, hear of angels and devils, but Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch and Apuleius in the *De deo Socratis*, all describe good and bad spirits that have the power to affect men's lives – *daimones* that like the sylphs in *The Rape of the Lock* move invisibly in an invisible ether. We hear of holy men in connexion with all kinds of beliefs, men who foretell the future and work miracles, like that Apollonius of Tyana whom the third century set up as a rival to Christ. In a context that left the truth of religion out of account, Christianity could appear as one – the ultimately successful one – of a number of competing faiths which all responded to the same spiritual needs along much the same lines. It could appear as a natural product of the cultural situation that existed in the Graeco-Roman world round about the birth of Christ.

The impression that Christianity emerged from the cultural matrix that the ancient world provided receives support from what we know of its initially amorphous and confused condition. It did not spring into being as the coherent and theologically well-ordered religion that we meet in medieval times. The small, scattered congregations of the faithful that existed under the early empire cherished local beliefs that were Christian, but often they were tinged with Gnosticism. It was too early in the history of the Church to speak of orthodoxy; and the writings which these congregations left behind them – the Protoevangelium of James, the Gospels of Thomas, Bartholomew and Nicodemus, the Acts of John, Peter, Paul, Andrew and Thomas – reflect their doctrinal disarray.

These curious narratives, which their editors – Fabricius, Tischendorf, M.R. James – rather inaccurately called the Apocryphal New Testament, are neglected nowadays. But some of them were widely read during the Middle Ages and provided Europe with popular legends. The Acts of Peter for example are a source of that well-known story about the gardener's daughter, which carries the same moral as the end of Voltaire's *Zadig*. A gardener begged Peter to ask God to give his daughter

3. E.L. Fortin, *Christianisme et culture philosophique au 5e siècle* (Paris, 1959).

what would be best for her. Peter prayed with that intention, and the girl fell dead. The gardener was not pleased with this result. He persuaded the apostle to bring the girl back to life. Two days later, she was seduced by a slave and ran away with him never to be seen again: a fate worse than death.

It is interesting to note that these rejected writings, which helped nevertheless to shape medieval Christianity, have a good deal in common with the stories that circulated in the pagan world. Time and again we find in them motifs with which the erotic romances have made us familiar. The Acts of Thomas, which record the apostle's wanderings in India, have from time to time, like so many of the Greek novels, the character of travelogues. The man who wrote them deliberately uses the wonders of a far-off land to hold his readers. In the Acts of Paul, the beautiful young bride, Thecla, falls under the apostle's spell the first time she hears his voice. She follows him to prison bribing the jailers to allow her to sit at his feet. She is like a woman bewitched, and her outraged fiancé brings a charge of sorcery against her and against Paul. The apostle is condemned to be scourged, Thecla to be burnt. But when she is placed on the pyre, the flames do not touch her. A sudden storm extinguishes the fire, and Thecla walks off to rejoin Paul. In a later chapter, a powerful nobleman falls in love with her, and when she not only rejects him, but also rips his toga and crumples his laurel wreath, she is condemned to be thrown to the wild beasts in the arena, but one of the lions defends her and she is saved.

Several of the episodes in this story have their parallels elsewhere. Thecla's instant attachment to Paul bears a strong resemblance to the *coup de foudre* of love at first sight which binds Chaereas to Callirhoe, Theagenes to Chariclea. The powerful suitor whom the heroine scorns is a character who turns up in nearly every Greek novel. The fire that fails to burn, the beasts that are unexpectedly tame, feature in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus. And although the Christian legend is not a love story, an erotic element is not altogether absent. Thecla is stripped naked for both her ordeals. There is dialogue to emphasize the fact of her nakedness, and the desire she inspired in men is repeatedly mentioned.

It is hard to think of an odder conjunction than this coming together of love stories and the propagandist literature of a new faith. But then these popular Greek romances nearly all had a religious element to which they gave a prominent role. The misfortunes of the lovers they portrayed were generally occasioned by their having offended a god or goddess, and the happy endings which marked the wiping out of the offence usually included a religious festival. Think of the part played by Pan and the Nymphs in *Daphnis and Chloe*. It is almost as if the book had been written originally for the delectation of their worshippers. The *Ephesiaca* glorifies Diana. The *Aethiopica* centres on the cult of the Sun. Using the materials of romance to lend importance to religious beliefs was not perhaps such a great innovation on the part of the early Christians; and that it was done quite deliberately is indicated by the use of the *Menaechmi* story as a framework for the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones;* for there the story provides a peg on which to hang an account of the preaching of St Peter.

Christianity was not, as its champions sometimes pretended, the polar opposite of the pagan world. It was in many respects a product of that world, and that was why it carried so much of the Greek and Roman heritage to later generations. If Christian theology had not accustomed medieval men to the modes of thought that had been common in antiquity, the interest in Aristotle, which created scholasticism, would never have arisen. Plato would not have found such a ready welcome in the Renaissance, and one is even tempted to believe that Cicero's philosophical works and the Stoic poets, Horace and Persius, would have found fewer readers. Christianity was responsible for more than just the survival of Latin as the language of learning. It provided a propaedeutic without which the study of the ancient world would not have been possible.

But now we must turn to another aspect of the classical tradition. Christianity was not the only system of belief that survived from antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond. It had its shadow, its poor relation, that lived on mysteriously below the surface of European culture. That strange body of ideas, whose manifestations, occasionally distinct, but more often overlapping, go by the names of Gnosticism, Hermetism, Illuminism, white magic, the Cabbala, had had a very long history. Its origins went back to the centuries before Christ; and its later developments bring us into contact with figures like Reuchlin, Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Comenius, Swedenborg, not to mention all those nineteenth-century French writers whose occultist tendencies were a fashionable object of study a generation ago.

It might be objected that these are beliefs of eastern origin, that have nothing to do with the classical tradition. And the objection is not without some grounds in fact. These beliefs did come from the East. But all the same, the form in which they reached the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was recognisably Greek. The old, rough, eastern clay had been cast by a classical potter and baked in the fire of classical thought.

We have not time for more than one example out of the many that recent scholarship has made available. *Poimandres,* the first section of that body of occultist writings which we know as the *Hermetic Corpus,* and whose translation by Ficino made such a disturbing impact on Renaissance thought, describes the coming into being of the universe as follows. First, there was the Light of Absolute Intellect. This Light then divided into an upper half that retained its luminous character and a lower half that became dark, moist and chaotic, a turbulence of formless matter. From this steamy darkness, there came a cry; and in response to this cry, the Light produced by emanation the first god, the Logos, and unfolded within itself a world of archetypal ideas. The Logos descended to the darkness, but had not the power to unite with it. So a second god emerged by emanation from the Light. This was the Demiurge. Less remote from matter than the Logos, he had the power to mediate between pure Idea and Chaos. He imposed form on matter and created the universe that we know.

The Ideas that exist within the Absolute, the successive emanations that link the Absolute to the material world, the Logos and the Demiurge who constitute a

Trinity with the Absolute, all these were borrowed from Neoplatonism; and later in the *Hermetic Corpus* there is talk of a Chain of Being, another Neoplatonic concept. Stoicism also made its contribution. The Logos was described as a Breath. It was recognisably the Stoic *Pneuma*, and we find mention of another well-known Stoic doctrine, the *Ekpyrosis*. Having created the seven spheres that determine man's fate round the sublunary world, the Demiurge makes them revolve at their different speeds round different axes until after aeons of time they return to their original position. At that juncture, the universe is destroyed by fire, only to be born again so as to repeat its former existence.

Over the great question of foreknowledge, and how man could control his environment, the Hermetists were divided. The universe was a determinist system whose constituent parts were linked in ways that were unknown to mankind but that attentive study could hope to unravel. A Hermetist could conceive of himself in the largest sense as a disinterested explorer of nature, assuming the role that the scientist holds today. But only a few – perhaps only Giovanni Pico – moved consistently at this high theoretical level. For the majority there were more colourful alternatives.

The system of the universe was supposed to link entities and events in this world to the movements of the stars. Particular elements, qualities, temperaments, colours were assumed to be governed by particular signs in the Zodiac. It was considered, for example, that air, steamy heat, a sanguine temper, and certain shades of red lie under the control of Aries and are affected by the passage of heavenly bodies through that sign. Belief in astrology was widespread. The Byzantines were fascinated by it. So were the Arabs when they took over Greek learning. And in the twelfth century, the craze spread to the West. Even theologians admitted that the stars had some connexion with human fates. Their conjunctions indicated what could be in store for us if our will, aided by divine grace, did not put up a resistance. By the end of the Middle Ages, emperors, kings, noblemen, *condottieri* and city fathers, all had their private astrologers, who were their Think-Tank consulted on grave matters of policy. In Byzantium, astronomy and astrology had been treated almost as one science; and now it was the same in the West. Kepler predicted a peasant revolt and a war against the Turks in 1595, both of which actually occurred. Tycho Brahe predicted a new age of peace and plenty which was to have its first beginnings in Russia in 1632. That prediction has not yet been fulfilled.

But all these beliefs, this pseudo-science that had so firm a grip on the imagination of Europe, had originated in antiquity. It was under the late empire that the planets came to be identified with the gods after whom they were named and whom they were supposed to incorporate in some mysterious way. From divine possessions, they had risen to be divine habitations and finally divinities themselves. Astrology, important enough in the third century A.D. to arouse the indignation of Plotinus, survived him to become one of antiquity's more dangerous legacies to later ages.

Another road to power was provided supposedly by magic. There was a widespread belief in the existence of lesser spirits that could act as intermediaries

between the divinities in the stars and mankind. These spirits were credited with a measure of independence for doing good or evil, and it was thought that men could learn to control them by rites and incantations. So we are back with the *daimones* of Apuleius in a world of spells and esoteric secrets. Festugière cites a passage where the angel Amnaël, transmitting a revelation to Isis, swears her to secrecy:

> I charge you (to keep this secret) by heaven, earth, light and darkness. I charge you by water, air, and earth. I charge you by the height of heaven, the deeps of the sea and the deeps of Tartarus. I charge you by Hermes, by Anubis, by the baying of Cerberus and by the guardian serpent. I charge you by the ferry and the boat that crosses Acheron. I charge you by the three Fates, the whip and the sword.[4]

This is an extraordinary hotch-potch; but notice Tartarus, Hermes, Cerberus, Acheron, the three Fates. The predominant imagery is classical. The underground stream of occult thought carried like Christianity fragments of the Greeco-Roman world along with it, and carried them far.

The different aspects of Hermetism were not clearly distinguished. Discovery wore two faces: the one akin to science, the other akin to sorcery; and it is remarkable how many of the founding fathers of modern scientific method dabbled in the occult: not only the astrologer-astronomers, Kepler and Tycho Brahe, but Copernicus, Paracelsus, Bacon, Descartes, Leibniz, and as everyone knows, Newton himself.[5] The common element that linked the scientific and the magical approach to Nature seems to have been that interest in the detail of the physical world which inspired the educational theories of the chiliast Comenius;[6] and at this stage of man's history, it appeared that such an interest in objects could be developed in one of two ways. You worked along magical or scientific lines according to which hypothesis you chose momentarily to adopt.

When we consider how much the occultist undercurrent in European culture contributed to Renaissance poetry and painting, from the enigmas of Botticelli to *Dr Faustus* and *The Tempest;* how much it contributed to educational theory thanks to Comenius; how it prepared the way for the Romantic movement with the speculations of the Swedenborgians and the Illuminists; and when we add that it contributed also to that advancement of scientific knowledge which has created the world we live in today, we shall not find it easy to maintain the conventional view that the ideas of writers like Apuleius, Iamblichus, and "Hermes Trismegistus" represented an insignificant, marginal element in the classical tradition. Our rational minds reject these ideas. They are manifestly ridiculous. But can their historical importance be denied?

I want now to turn to another cultural trait which, so far from being associated with the classical tradition as the nineteenth century knew it, has always been

4. A.J. Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique paienne* (Paris, 1967), 148.
5. C. Vasoli, *Profezia e Ragione* (Naples, 1974) and ed., *Magia e scienza nella civiltà umanistica* (Bologna, 1976).
6. J. Cérvenka, *Die Naturphilosophie des Johann Amos Comenius* (Prague, 1970).

regarded as belonging to a mode of awareness which that tradition supplanted, to a discarded image of the universe. I want to consider the fortunes of allegory.

T.S. Eliot tells us, writing about Dante, that in a competent poet allegory is "clear visual imagery". If that is true, many of our medieval allegorists must have been pretty poor poets. Professor Frank Kermode on the other hand suggests that we tend to associate allegory with a grey abstraction, which chimes in with D.H. Lawrence's comment that he "hated allegory even as a child, people having the names of mere qualities . . . a man is more than mere Faithfulness or Truth".[7] This Kermode-Lawrence view is more applicable than Eliot's to the type of allegory I have in mind, the extended picture that corresponds point by point to an argument.

Allegorizing in the Middle Ages took two forms. On the one hand it was used in interpreting well-known texts. It could be applied to any form of fiction and was applied with great thoroughness to Virgil and Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* On the other hand, we have the deliberate invention of new fictions to illustrate some spiritual or moral lesson. In neither of these modes was there much emphasis on the total impact made by a literary work. What was aimed at was a close, often item by item, correspondence between the fiction and the theoretical lesson. The reader's nose was kept to the grindstone of detail, which may account for Professor Kermode's impression of greyness.

The Renaissance was to banish this practice from literature. Admittedly, it took time to disappear. We have Vivès for example, an ardent humanist and a close friend of Erasmus, writing an allegory to satirize scholasticism. It is to be found in the preface to his edition of the *Somnium Scipionis.*[8] The subtlest of English allegories, the *Faerie Queene* was not completed until 1609, and the most famous, *Pilgrim's Progress,* did not appear till 1678. But no one would describe Bunyan as an avant-garde writer, and by the time we reach the neoclassical period, which may be regarded as the culmination of the humanist movement, allegory in the sense that I have defined it was abandoned once and for all.

The habit of allegorizing played such a large part in the creation and interpretation of literary works during the Middle Ages, that we have to regard it as typical of that period. But its origins can be traced back to the fifth century B.C. when it was used to defend the Homeric epics against rationalist attacks. Its exponents claimed that Homer was conveying profound truths in a picturesque form when he showed Ares seducing Aphrodite or Pallas wounded in battle. At first the allegorical defence of traditional myths had an ethical character. According to Prodicus, Heracles at the crossroad was man hesitating between virtue and vice, and Ulysses leaving Calypso was a sage rejecting the ephemeral pleasures of sex. Later, historical or common sense explanations were introduced. Medea persuading the daughters of Pelias to cut him up and boil him was presented as a fashionable doctor who

7. F. Kermode, "Spenser and the Allegorists", *Renaissance Essays* (London, 1971).
8. D. Baker Smith, "Juan Vivès and the *Somnium Scipionis*", *Classical Influences in European Culture A.D. 1500-1700,* ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1976).

believed in steam baths as a cure for decrepitude, and the king's sliced-up limbs stood for a body weakened by self-indulgence.

It was with the Stoics, however, that allegory really came into its own. They justified the legends about the quarrels and copulations of the gods on the ground that the Olympians represented physical phenomena: fire and water, sun and wind, which were always at odds and always mingling. Hera, we remember, was hung in chains by Zeus with anvils tied to her feet. Zeus, the Stoics said, was fire; Hera was air; the anvils were earth and water. The golden chains were the fine membranes that divide fire from air, air from water, in their pure states. So we have here air suspended underneath fire with the two heavier elements below it. The myth reflects the natural order. Odd and – to our taste – decidedly dreary explanations of this mechanical kind were supplemented furthermore by etymological ones which strike us as odder still. Cleanthes, the second father of Stoicism, derived Apollo's name from the fact that the sun rises in different places ἀπ' ἄλλων καὶ ἄλλων τόπων, while his successor, Chrysippus, derived it from the sun's not being one of the harmful manifestations of fire. He interpreted Ἀπόλλων as made up of the privative alpha, which has negative force, and of πόλλων : "not of many".

The Stoics' attempt to explain myths in terms of their philosophy remained rather haphazard for all its ingenious twists and turns. But then there came a change. The pioneer of a more systematic method was the Jewish theologian, Philo. Being anxious to expound Judaism in terms that would be acceptable to educated pagans, he placed alongside the literal interpretations of the Old Testament allegorical meanings that fitted in with pagan ideas. And a couple of generations later we find the Christians following his example. Only they had a harder task. It was not enough for them to translate their faith into philosophical terms. They also needed to reconcile their two sacred books, the Old and New Testaments, since discrepancies in these troubled the pious. Origen, the greatest of Christian exegetes, used every form of allegory that had been worked out by the Stoics as well as some devices like typology which were not properly speaking allegorical.[9] Origen christianized allegory. But then a generation later the Neoplatonists brought it back once again into the pagan fold. They wanted to provide their philosophy with an objective correlative that would have a popular appeal like the gospel story, and they decided to use the old pagan myths for this purpose. Porphyry's exposition of *Odyssey*, XIII.101-12 is perhaps the most elegant piece of allegorical exegesis that has come down to us from ancient times. And reported by Macrobius it enjoyed a considerable vogue in the Middle Ages.

Antiquity's liking for allegorical interpretation was not paralleled in the early stages of its history by an upsurge of allegorical poetry or fiction. For that we have to wait until the fourth century A.D. and the resounding *Psychomachia* of Prudentius,

9. In typology, persons and episodes in the Old Testament were interpreted as prefiguring persons and episodes in the New. Here we do not have a "historical" sign signifying a philosophical or moral truth, but both the sign and the signified are "historical".

in which personified and armoured virtues like Temperance and Chastity engage in hand-to-hand combat with personified vices like Greed and Lust. C.S. Lewis[10] attributed the emergence of this new kind of poetry to that sense of inner conflict within the individual soul that Christianity had fostered. But it is doubtful whether any poet would have hit on this manner of presenting the combats of conscience, if the concept of allegory – the idea of an inner meaning distinct from the surface sense of a poem – had not been familiar to him as a result of the long – Sophistic, Stoic, Judaic, Christian and Neoplatonist – tradition of allegorical exegesis. Allegory was a brain-child of the classical imagination, and its influence on later ages was part of the general influence of classical culture.

We have considered Christian beliefs, the occult tradition and allegory and have traced their roots in the Graeco-Roman world. I have one more example to offer, a literary one. We hear a great deal about the influence exercised by ancient epic, drama, elegy and satire – the great genres. A commonly held opinion finds in them the essence of the classical tradition. But these genres flourished during certain short periods of literary activity: at the time the Homeric poems were written, in fifth- and fourth-century Athens, in late republican Rome. Consequently, this common opinion has had the effect of making the classical tradition into the reflection of a golden age or of golden ages. But to take this view is to set limits on the ancient world which its actual influence did not observe.

The genre I want to consider is one that had no great standing in antiquity, being written for a middlebrow readership and aiming to amuse rather than to bedazzle or instruct. I want, in short, to consider the novel. As far as sheer bulk goes, ancient production in this field compares quite well with what we possess of other more eminent genres. We have five full-length novels, two novels in what appears to be epitome, extensive fragments of another two and smaller fragments or summaries of four more. As for their quality, it is true that they do not offer us anything that would compare with Dickens or Henry James; but all the same they reach a standard that was rarely reached in Europe before the eighteenth century.

The ancient novel has had a worse press than it deserves. Reading a book on Sidney's *Arcadia* recently, I came across the following statement: "The Greek romance was an essentially trivial genre, evoking a shallow emotional response by a combination of melodrama and rhetorical display";[11] and the critic then went on to stigmatise the works of Longus and Heliodorus as unstructured, unrealistic and morally bankrupt. The Roman novelists, Petronius and Apuleius, have not come in for quite such severe censure, but in their case also critical comment has been apologetic rather than enthusiastic. The first editor of the Loeb *Satyricon*, Michael Heseltine, described the book as "befouled with obscenity" and found its principal merit in the passages of literary criticism; and even a scholar of our own permissive age, P.G. Walsh, characterizes the adventures of Encolpius as "a mere extravaganza".

10. C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936).
11. R.A. Lanham, *"The Old Arcadia"*, W.R. Davis and R.A. Lanham, *Sidney's Arcadia* (Yale Studies in English, 158, New Haven, 1965), 385.

But if we are not to be blinded by prudery or an obstinate high-mindedness, however justified, it is possible to notice many virtues in these novels. The accusation that they function exclusively in a never-never land of melodrama is not a fair one. Every so often they give us a glimpse of human reality. Daphnis finding excuses to visit Chloe's father's farm in the middle of winter would not be out of place in *Sons and Lovers.* Lucius flirting with Fotis as she cooks her master's dinner, Chrysis mocking Encolpius when he pretends to be a male prostitute, are subtly observed pieces of social comedy. The accusation of shapelessness is equally unfair. Longus' novel is carefully structured to follow the rhythm of the seasons. Heliodorus may have learnt the device of beginning *in medias res* from the *Aeneid,* but he uses it to competent advantage. And that other device, which figures in all the ancient novels, of weaving subsidiary tales into the main narrative so as to provide variants or contrasts to its central theme, may not be one we employ nowadays, but its influence on European literature has been considerable.

Everybody admits that Trimalchio has a rich raciness worthy of Balzac. But he is not the only memorable character. The slave girl, Fotis, in the *Golden Ass,* has an obvious erotic appeal, and her character is subtle enough to be puzzling. Is she a "naive victim" like the hero or is she really a witch? Daphnis and Chloe have a fresh adolescent charm. It is true that they are not studied in depth. But deep studies of adolescence are not all that common. Put Daphnis alongside the young Tom Jones before he leaves Mr Allworthy's house. Put Chloe alongside Emma's Harriet Smith. And they will hold their own. Even Achilles Tatius has left us in his Melitta a neat cameo of a mature, sexy, pleasure-loving woman; and the old priest Calasiris in the *Aethiopica* is crudely effective. He would fit very well into *She* or *King Solomon's Mines.* And that surely is the point. Judged by the achievements of the late nineteenth century, Rider Haggard was a third-rate popular novelist. But he commanded a measure of technical skill from which a beginner could certainly learn. And the same was true of his Greek and Roman predecessors. A world that had forgotten the novelist's art could derive benefit from their works.

Perhaps the most notable advance in prose fiction during the later Renaissance was the abandonment of the marvellous in favour of more verisimilitude. One sees two lines of development, and both sprang from classical sources. A taste for the depiction of everyday life had manifested itself in the short *novella* as early as Boccaccio, who, following the example of Apuleius, put into the *Decameron* as much realistic detail as the imaginative structure of the tales would bear.[12] His successors did not transgress the limits he had set for realism until we come to Greene and Nashe at the end of the sixteenth century. Their stories of roguery and lower middle-class life, longer than Boccaccio's and teeming with detail, prepared the way for Fielding and Sterne.

The development of the picaresque novel which looked back to Apuleius was paralleled by the rise of another, more grandiose form that tried to preserve some

12. J.H. Whitfield, *A Short History of Italian Literature* (Harmondsworth, 1960), 66-72.

of the qualities of the epic. During the early Renaissance, the only, or almost the only, long stories in prose – comparable in extent to the epic – were chivalric romances like the famous *Amadis de Gaula.* They had fantastic plots, set in lands plagued by dragons, where magicians and fairies controlled the heroes' lives; and for a time they were immensely popular. Then at the end of the sixteenth century, a new type of romance made its appearance with Sidney's *Arcadia* and Cervantes' *Persiles y Sigismunda,* which attempted to retain the colour, variety, and grandeur of epic, while shedding to some extent the old apparatus of marvels. The marvellous in *Persiles,* a more self-conscious work than Sidney's novel, is relegated to the unknown regions of the frozen north. When it appears in a more familiar setting, Cervantes is always there with some mundane explanation of what had appeared at first sight a mystery. The convention established by the *Persiles* was then widely adopted and dominated novel-writing in France for much of the seventeenth century.

Now, between the schoolboyish *Amadis* and this later convention had come the recovery of the *Aethiopica,* which became known first of all in Amyot's French translation in 1547. It was this work, which Scaliger recommended as a model for writers of epic,[13] that taught novelists to combine a moderate verisimilitude with the excitements of romance. The combination is not one that critics regard with approval today. It is considered a second-rate device, fit only for pot-boilers. But its popularity in the seventeenth century led to an upsurge of novel-writing, which produced – what perhaps nothing else could have produced – a much closer understanding of the novelist's craft. It prepared the way for that century's one great novel, the *Princesse de Clèves.*

Mme de Lafayette's work far transcends the mediocre achievement of Heliodorus in significance and complexity. In the main, her relation to her Greek predecessor is that of descendant to ancestor. Without his book, hers would not have come into being. But there are some direct debts too. It is interesting to note that she still employs the old Greek device of using interwoven analogous stories to set off her central plot. It is interesting too that she still centres her tale round the time-honoured subject of fidelity preserved. And in this particular respect we can come even nearer to the present than Mme de Lafayette. We can recognise the successors of Chariclea in Richardson's chastity-hoarding Pamela and Marivaux's dutiful Marianne.

I have taken Christianity, occultism, allegory and the novel, four examples of cultural development that are not usually associated with the classical tradition. And I have tried to show that they too had their origins in Greece and Rome. My purpose in doing this has been to call attention to what appears to me an important problem. It is time that we decided what we mean by the classical tradition. We are the servants of that tradition. But what do we serve? Are we interested in the whole

13. J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem,* III (Heidelberg, 1581), 365, cited in E.C. Riley, *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford, 1961), 51.

of Graeco-Roman culture in so far as it has survived, or only in a small part of it, which may however be its most valuable part?

The problem is not a new one. The question has been asked before. In 1841 a respected professor of Greek, Johann Gottlieb Welcker, speaking at a conference in Bonn, defined classical learning as the study of two literatures that will serve us as models, making us aesthetically more sensitive and teaching us how to write. Most of his contemporaries agreed with his statement. But in one quarter it provoked a sharp riposte. The Biblical scholar and Church historian, Ernest Renan,[14] who was later to make the century's most impassioned plea for Greek studies in his *Prière sur l'Acropole,* pointed out that Welcker's definition implied that one should focus one's interest on the avowed masterpieces of classical literature, and that this would be a destructive limitation. Second-rate works, he went on to say, may be less useful for forming our taste, but sometimes they have more philosophical interest, teach us more about the history of human development than do the masterpieces of a Golden Age. He made it plain that we have a choice in our studies and therefore in our teaching, since teaching inevitably reflects the directions taken by study. We have to choose between the improvement of our aesthetic taste and the development of our understanding of mankind. Here then is the problem, and although a century and a half has passed since Renan made his protest, it is still with us. The choice has still to be made.

14. J. Seznec, "Renan et la philologie classique", *Classical Influences on Western Thought A.D. 1650-1870,* ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1979), 355-6.

The Classical Tradition in Rhetoric

GEORGE KENNEDY

Our ancestors thought the study of rhetoric in the classical tradition a necessary discipline in the education of the young. It came after Latin grammar, the rock on which all clear thinking was built, and usually somewhat before the more dangerous discipline of logic or the more commercial science of arithmetic. They saw in it the basis of future effectiveness in the senate, at the bar, and above all in the pulpit; the wellspring of elegant expression, not only in speech, but in writing, it laid open the path to true Eloquence, without which Wisdom herself stood mute and despised. I am thinking in general of our ancestors of the fifteenth, the sixteenth, and the seventeenth centuries, but above all of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in these islands and in America, when classical rhetoric enjoyed a flowering equal to other neoclassical arts such as poetry, architecture, painting, and political theory. For all of them, a truer understanding or standard of taste had been recently discovered in the civilization of the Greeks, purified at last of the popish, Gothic, and scholastic diseases which had infected the Latin tradition. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries rhetoric had been elevated into an advanced study in the cities of Italy; in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries it generally fell back into a subject for schoolboys or the youngest university students, a development to which the system of Peter Ramus much contributed, only to emerge again after 1600 in France, England, Scotland, and America as a serious occupation of mature minds. At the end of this flowering stand the works of such able neoclassical British rhetoricians as Adam Smith, who lectured on rhetoric as well as logic and political economy at Glasgow, George Campbell, of Marischal College, Aberdeen, who sought to go beyond the practical art of rhetoric to understand the process of persuasion and exposition with the conceptual tools of the British Empiricists, and Hugh Blair, whose lectures at Edinburgh from 1763 to 1783 earned him the title of the British Quintilian. There was moreover Richard Whately, principal of St Alban Hall, Oxford, after 1825 and after 1831 archbishop of Dublin, author of *The Elements of Logic* and *The Elements of Rhetoric*. Their American counterparts included John Witherspoon, who had been Blair's classmate at Edinburgh, served as President of Princeton from 1768 to 1793, and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Witherspoon lectured to each senior class at Princeton on eloquence and through his student James Madison helped to mould the rhetoric of the Constitution of the United States. At Harvard John Quincy Adams, himself a future president of the United States, became the first holder of the Nicholas Boylston Professorship of

Rhetoric and Oratory in 1806. In his inaugural lecture Adams delivered a ringing endorsement of classical rhetoric. Said he, "A subject which has exhausted the genius of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian can neither require nor admit much additional illustration. To select, combine, and apply their precepts, is the only duty left for their followers of all succeeding times, and to obtain a perfect familiarity with their instructions is to arrive at the mastery of the art."

During the course of the nineteenth century, however, classical rhetoric ceased to be a serious intellectual discipline. When, in 1867, E.M. Cope published *An Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric* he thought it necessary to explain the surprising fact that Aristotle was interested in rhetoric at all and to describe for the uninitiated the place of that art in Greece. Neither he nor J.M. Sandys, who edited his work, give any indication that the *Rhetoric* might be read for purposes other than philological. In Germany the situation was, if anything, worse. Richard Volkmann describes how he and Bernhardy strolled the shady paths of the Rabeninsul at Halle during 1861 and could see nothing but decline in the understanding of the system of classical rhetoric since the time of Vossius, and Volkmann's resulting *Systematische Übersicht* was a handbook of rhetoric for classicists, and not for orators.

The causes of the decline of classical rhetoric in the nineteenth and early twentieth century are numerous, interlocked, and in part obvious. Rhetoric was always nurtured by the study of Greek and Latin texts, and as classical studies were pushed into a smaller corner of the curriculum of schools and universities by the emergence of new disciplines in modern languages, natural sciences, and social studies and by increased interest in technology, rhetoric lost much of the rich food on which she fed, particularly the banquet of Demosthenes and Cicero. Equally important, perhaps, was the phenomenon of romanticism, with its rejection of classical forms and its exaltation of the creative artist who often speaks, not as a citizen, persuading others of the better cause, but crying out alone in the universe. The basically romantic quality of much oratory in English is well brought out by R.C. Jebb in the elegant introduction to *The Attic Orators.* I said that rhetoric declined; it might more accurately be said that it went underground: as a practical discipline it was subsumed in two other movements, belles lettres and elocution. Each of the five parts of rhetoric – invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery – has at some time in history enjoyed an hour on centre stage, and the moment for delivery came in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its great English patron was Thomas Sheridan, father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and the fad of schools and exhibitions of elocution flourished through the nineteenth century. It still existed in my youth in the villages of Connecticut when ladies of a literary bent gave dramatic readings during the intermission of children's piano recitals.

The concept of belles lettres originated in France in the seventeenth century and was naturalized in England in the second edition of Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* of 1736. Its waxing strength is already seen in Adam Smith and Hugh Blair. Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* as published

in 1783 might better be called lectures on belles lettres and rhetoric, for rhetoric in the proper sense, and the whole field of oratory, are inserted into the middle of a larger discussion of literary composition. I understand that Blair's chair at Edinburgh, the Regius Professorship of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, developed into a chair in English literature, and the same phenomenon occurs in America. The Boylston professors at Harvard, in the generation after John Quincy Adams, turned their attention to literary composition rather than speech and ultimately to poetry. The present incumbent is Robert Fitzgerald, translator of Homer.

Now it might well be felt by some that poetry, literature, and belles lettres are nobler and worthier creations than oratory and rhetoric. I do not deny their nobility, but viewed in the classical tradition written composition is secondary to oral composition and the particular approach of belles lettres is in a way a romantic fallacy. Great poetry, like great oratory, is a civic phenomenon: the epic, the drama, and even the lyric poetry of the Greeks show this clearly. Not the least service of classicists to the modern world comes in the demonstration of the goals of literature as popular and as central to the shared life of the culture. Man is after all a political and social animal, even if from time to time he takes lonely refuge in caves from the storms of nature and finds vents for his emotions in formless monologues.

The slippage of neoclassical rhetoric into belles lettres is, to the student of the history of rhetoric, no surprise. It is only the most recent example of a phenomenon which has repeatedly occurred in rhetorical history since Greek times and which some modern critics have fallen into the habit of calling *letteraturizzazione,* a word which slips more easily from the tongue than does the English barbarism "literaturization". It has been the fate of rhetoric to arise in a succession of cultures as the study of effective oral exposition – of persuasion if you will – and then gradually to slip into a system of literary composition and ornamentation. The phenomenon occurs already in Greece, when orators began to publish their speeches, either as examples of their sophistic art or as advertisement of their abilities as logographers or as political pamphlets. The works of Isocrates, painfully composed in the closet over periods longer than it took Alexander to conquer Asia, are instances. Aristotle recognizes the phenomenon, and the difference between spoken and written discourse, in the twelfth chapter of the third book of the *Rhetoric.* There are several reasons for continued *letteraturizzazione* in Greece in subsequent centuries. The ground was laid by the place rhetoric occupied in what we may call secondary education: the discipline universally studied by those who went beyond grammar. It was studied, of course, as training to speak in the lawcourts or to a lesser extent on other public occasions, but it was given wide application in literary composition. Rather than develop a new system of literary criticism, addressed to the unique character of a written text, teachers took over the highly conceptualized system of rhetoric as a way to teach exposition and style to their students. This *letteraturizzazione* of rhetoric is clear enough by late Hellenistic times in the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus or in the early imperial treatise *On Sublimity,* whence again it descended to the neoclassical and romantic critics. Fascination with declam-

ation at Rome and the development of the Second Sophistic in Greece provided oral forms for rhetoric during subsequent centuries, albeit a rather artificial outlet, and this tradition continues in the East through the Byzantine period. Byzantine rhetoric, though it gave some attention to theory in its study of Aphthonius and Hermogenes, was primarily nurtured by opportunities for epideictic oratory in both Church and State. In western Europe, however, especially in the early Middle Ages, these opportunities seem to have been less common. Yet the general collapse of civic life was not followed by complete neglect of rhetoric. The Church found a need for it in exegesis of the Scriptures, in theological disputation, and eventually in preaching, though the most profound statement, St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana,* is not really seriously taken up for some centuries. Thus, for much of the western Middle Ages the application of rhetoric is largely a literary one: as a system of exegesis of the Bible, as the basis for the art of letter-writing, the *dictamen,* and in the art of verse composition, the *ars poetriae.* It is important to note, however, that the definition of rhetoric as an oral and civic art was consistently recognized, even by Isidore of Seville in the darkest of the dark ages, and by implication it was equally admitted that the common medieval manifestations of rhetoric were secondary developments. Perhaps the most important medieval statement of primary rhetoric – of the need to understand rhetoric for public, oral uses – is that seen in Alcuin's dialogue with Charlemagne, but John Ward of the University of Sydney has recently (in *Medieval Eloquence,* ed. J.J. Murphy, Berkeley, 1979) drawn attention to signs of recognition of primary uses of rhetoric in the numerous medieval commentaries on Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* during Carolingian and post-Carolingian times.

Thus, in very broad terms, one might say that primary oral and civic rhetoric experiences a *letteraturizzazione* in the later Hellenistic period, but that there is some reassertion of the primacy of speech in the Roman empire. This is then followed, especially in the West, by a severe *letteraturizzazione,* resulting from the survival of rhetoric as a part of education, accompanied by limitations on opportunities for civic discourse. In the later Middle Ages, especially in the municipalities of Italy, rhetoric then reemerges as a useful political and legal tool. Although much of its application is found in letter-writing and the activities of notaries, there is some opportunity for public speaking, the so-called *ars arengandi.* Ratherius is one of the earliest writers to show the new impulse; Jacques de Dinant and Buoncompagno are important later practitioners.

The awareness of practical rhetoric, including oral rhetoric, is one factor contributing to the brilliant flowering of the discipline in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. Not only does rhetoric find application in all forms of written composition, but enthusiasm for eloquent speech, both religious and secular, reaches a fever pitch. The epideictic tradition of the Second Sophistic, kept alive in Greek during the Byzantine period, is now enthusiastically taken up in Latin. An important figure in the union of eastern and western rhetoric at this time is George of Trebizond, who came from Crete to Italy in 1416 and was the author of the first

comprehensive rhetoric of the Renaissance, *Rhetoricorum Libri Quinque* of 1433 or 1434. George used the structural system of the Ciceronian tradition, but merged with it the theories of *stasis* and style of Hermogenes and the Greek rhetoricians, almost completely unknown in the West. In addition, George of Trebizond, Lorenzo Valla, and others sought to subordinate the study of dialectic, long the most powerful discipline in the West, to rhetoric as the higher and more civic art.

This movement faltered after 1500. The disruption of the civic life of the Italian cities throughout the sixteenth century again meant that the applications of rhetoric were diverted from speaking to writing. In the north, Rudolph Agricola and to a greater extent Peter Ramus transferred invention back from rhetoric to dialectic and reduced the study of rhetoric again to that of stylistic adornment. Rhetoric found itself mainly a study for schoolboys and an aid to literary composition. In the seventeenth century, however, in France and England primary rhetoric once again emerges. Francis Bacon, himself an effective parliamentary and forensic orator, includes rhetoric at the most advanced level as a major ingredient in *The Advancement of Learning*, and French thinkers like François Fénelon give serious attention to the ideal philosophic rhetoric of Plato's *Phaedrus*, for almost the first time since antiquity. In France this attention is inspired by a deliberate effort to create a French grammar, rhetoric, and literature equal to Latin and by the success of a new kind of sophist, the panegyrical preachers like Bossuet. But then neo-classical rhetoric begins to take a literary direction in the belles lettres movement, first in France, then in England and America.

The history of the tradition of classical rhetoric can thus be approached in terms of the swing of a pendulum, closely keyed to political circumstances, between rhetoric as an oral and civic art and rhetoric as a system of literary composition. That is, however, not the only way it can be approached. Another important factor is the tension between rhetoric and Christianity, a tradition which has its secular counterpart in the tension between rhetoric and philosophy.

Rhetoric in origin is the method by which the originator of a communication seeks to accomplish his purpose. Since all societies were originally oral, communication first of all meant oral discourse, though rhetoric, as we know, can be applied to written discourse and also to art forms like painting, sculpture, architecture, and music. Rhetoric has to some extent been cultivated in China and India, as well as in the West, and can also be found in traditional oral societies which still exist or existed until recent times in such places as Bali or Madagascar or among the Maori of New Zealand, where orators function somewhat as they did in the Athenian assembly. Classical rhetoric is, however, unique in its degree of conceptualization. Beginning in the fifth century B.C. it was formulated as a system with rules and examples. Although the immediate impulse for that development was the circumstances of the Greek democracies and the needs of citizens to learn how to defend themselves in lawcourts or to speak in a democratic assembly – thus the *techne* of Corax or Tisias in Syracuse – it seems clear that conceptualization in Greece could not have occurred if the Greeks had not already been actively involved in a process

of conceptualization or theorizing about many other aspects of life, including philosophy, religion, medicine, politics, and the arts. We know something about the rhetoric of the Greeks before conceptualization from the speeches in the Homeric poems. They contributed to the ideal of the orator in Greek society and illustrate many rhetorical patterns of structure, argument, and style which are later conceptualized and studied by the Greeks. We also know something about another tradition of rhetoric which continued influential in western civilization, the rhetoric of the Old Testament. This never received full conceptualization, but it can be described as a system on the basis of accounts in the Bible, and it was largely taken over by early Christians until, by the fourth century of the Christian era, it succumbed to the blandishments of classical rhetoric. Since it is an important foil to classical rhetoric and a basis of theoretical comparison, it deserves some attention here.

Aristotle distinguishes three modes of proof. The first of these is *ethos,* the moral character of the speaker as inherent in the speech. The second may be called *logos,* the argumentation of the speech itself through the use of enthymemes and examples. The third is *pathos,* the use of the speech to arouse emotion in the hearts of the audience. Now Aristotle thought of these three modes as universals, not accidents of speech in the Greek culture. In fact, in his description details show signs of cultural bias, but something analogous can be found in all speech in all cultures. In the case of Judaeo-Christian rhetoric the analogue of *ethos* is the enunciation of authority, either the authority of God or of a preacher. The analogue of *logos* is the divine truth, as enunciated by God and as illustrated by his treatment of his chosen people or by his sending his Son into the world, the Christian Logos. But this truth is not proved, as in classical rhetoric. Its acceptance is dependent on God's grace in allowing each individual to understand the message. *Pathos* takes primarily the form of warnings, either God's warnings to the Jews of punishment in this life or to Christians of punishment in the life to come. The first passage in our text of the Old Testament to illustrate the system is the interview between God and Moses in the fourth chapter of *Exodus.* Here God outlines a rhetoric for Moses to use in approaching Pharaoh, but in each presentation he will harden Pharaoh's heart and prevent him from being persuaded. Other examples are to be found in the covenant speeches which make up much of *Deuteronomy* or in the prophets and in the missionary sermons of the apostles. Paul's speech on Mars' Hill illustrates the form: declaration of authority – "What you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you" – the enunciation of the message – the *kerygma,* illustrated by what "some of your own poets have said", and the warning of the consequences of rejection.

If persuasion lies with God, the orator is primarily a vehicle through whom God speaks, and knowledge of rhetoric, as of philosophy, is not necessary to him. Paul makes this clear in the long discussion of the second chapter of *First Corinthians,* and later Christians, even modern Christians, have often rejected rhetoric as specious and unnecessary adornment, just as philosophers have scrupled to use eloquence to smooth the barbs of their logical demonstration. But in subsequent centuries the

Christian orator was often addressing the converted, those on whom God's grace has acted, and was thus preaching to the faithful to deepen their conviction of the Truth. Under these circumstances the devices of classical rhetoric gradually emerge as legitimate tools. The climax of this development in antiquity comes in the panegyrical sermons of the great fourth-century preachers like Gregory of Nazianzus. Speaking in an age when Christianity is legal, prestigious, and even fashionable, they adapted all the techniques of the sophist to the exposition of the Truth. This phenomenon in oratory, imitated in the West by Ambrose and others, finds its theoretical discussion first in the *Institutiones Divinae* of Lactantius, the Christian Cicero, and its definitive statement in Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana.* But tension between Christianity and rhetoric recurs. Among those who are in varying degrees suspicious of classical rhetoric are Gregory the Great, Aelfric, and the more austere protestants of the Reformation. The synthesis of divine truth and sacred eloquence attempted by Augustine is, however, echoed by preachers of the Italian Renaissance and by Fénelon in seventeenth-century France and the British rhetoricians of the eighteenth century.

I have been talking as though classical rhetoric, as it came into conflict with Christianity or with the impulse to *letteraturizzazione* or in its later manifestations, were some sort of monolithic tradition, and this is in fact not really true, even in classical times. Classical rhetoric is indeed very difficult to define, except in a very general way. What do we mean by classical rhetoric? Is it rhetoric as expounded by Aristotle? Hardly. The direct influence of Aristotle on rhetoric is rather slight at many times. The theory of *ethos, logos,* and *pathos,* although taken over from Aristotle, was restated by Cicero as the three *officia oratoris*: to teach, to charm, and to move. Cicero's version obscures the relationship of *ethos, logos,* and *pathos* to the three aspects of the speech act as identified by Aristotle, speaker, message, and audience, and concentrates all attention on the orator and what he does. It is in the Ciceronian form that the theory is found in St Augustine. The strongest part of the Aristotelian tradition is probably the theory of the topics, but even this is radically changed by Cicero and Boethius. As to the *Rhetoric* itself, when it was translated into Latin in the thirteenth century it seems to have been used primarily as a text to teach ethics, not rhetoric.

Is the classical tradition in rhetoric to be equated with Ciceronian rhetoric? For Late Antiquity, the Western Middle Ages, and the early Renaissance classical rhetoric is indeed in large part the rhetoric of *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* even though those authoritative works were often studied through intermediary sources. In contrast, the ideal conceptions of *De Oratore* or *Orator,* which are both greater treatises, are much less well known. A fatal objection to an overall identification of the rhetorical tradition with Ciceronianism is that the tradition survived with some strength in the East, where it owes nothing to Cicero. Thus a single definition of the tradition as a whole is elusive.

A possible way of getting at the nature of the classical tradition in rhetoric lies in a recognition that it consists, not of a single tradition, but of at least three

separate strands of tradition. Each of these gives a different colour to the whole fabric. They are reduced to rather slender threads at times, but none entirely ravels out. This is the approach I have tried to follow in my book *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (London and Chapel Hill, 1980). In this paper I will give a grossly generalized scheme of the approach, which despite some recognisable difficulties in detail remains useful as a framework of organization.

The easiest of the strands to define, the one with the strongest continuous history, and the central cord of the tradition is what may be called technical or prescriptive rhetoric. This is the rhetoric of handbooks which teach some or all of the five parts of the discipline: invention, or how to plan a speech; disposition or how to arrange the materials; elocution or style, including choice and composition of words, with important material on tropes and figures; memory, or how to control the material for presentation; and delivery. These parts recapitulate the stages of the speech act and were arranged in this sequence to illustrate it in the Hellenistic period. Technical rhetoric is, however, older than that. It starts with Corax and Tisias and their handbooks and continues to the most modern manual of public speaking. In the classical tradition, however, and here the modern handbooks depart, technical rhetoric is basically directed to the oratory of the lawcourts, with only occasional glimpses at other occasions. This orientation was given by the practical need which the early handbook writers sought to meet, the need to speak on one's own behalf in the democratic lawcourts of Greece. Of the three major factors in the speech situation identified by Aristotle, technical rhetoric tends to concentrate on the speech at the expense of the speaker or the audience. It is amoral and says little or nothing about the orator's social responsibility; nor does it develop much interest in the psychology of the audience. From the *Rhetoric to Alexander* in the fourth century B.C and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the first century through Hermogenes in Greek and the so called *Rhetores Latini Minores* we have a series of technical handbooks which have to a certain extent a common structure and a common body of rules, sometimes with traditional examples. There are some seventeen larger handbooks extant, plus a number of smaller ones or fragments. This technical rhetoric is fundamentally what is being expounded in a rather unhistorical way in modern statements of classical rhetoric, such as Joseph Martin's recent *Antike Rhetorik* in Mueller's *Handbuch.* The technical tradition is seen to a considerable extent in Quintilian's great *Institutio Oratoria,* but it is there amplified and complemented by material from other strands in the tradition, especially the ideal orator and the educational role of rhetoric, which play little part in most handbooks.

The second strand in the tradition is in fact older than the technical. This is sophistic rhetoric, though that is not an ideal term considering the reputation of sophistry. Sophistic rhetoric begins with the heroic orators of Homer – Achilles and Odysseus in particular as triumphant speakers of words. It finds major expression in sophists like Gorgias and Isocrates; it flourishes again in the Second Sophistic, in

Christian panegyric, in those latter-day sophists the Italian humanists and the great French preachers, and in modern occasional oratory such as American Fourth of July orations and addresses on the centenary of the Hellenic Society. Technical rhetoric was defined as primarily judicial – I avoid the term forensic: all oratory was delivered in the forum – sophistic oratory is primarily, though not exclusively, epideictic. Technical rhetoric was primarily concerned with the speech itself, its divisions and argument and style. Sophistic rhetoric uses style and even argument, but its great love is the orator, his power to make the worse seem the better cause or to move the multitude with the force of his genius. When in the *Gorgias* Socrates asks what art his opponents practise, the answer that comes first to their lips is a qualitative one: the greatest art. Sophistic rhetoric occasionally produced handbooks to describe its forms, of which the work of Menander in the third century of the Christian era is perhaps the best example, but one of its major features is its reliance on imitation. This is perhaps the most clearly seen in ancient accounts of Gorgias and his pupils or in Plato's picture of Phaedrus' fascination with a speech of Lysias. Aristotle, at the end of the *Sophistical Refutations,* complains that Gorgias was like someone who tried to teach the art of foot-care by giving his students a number of different shoes and telling them to make others by imitation. In other words, sophistic rhetoric was late to be conceptualized. Isocrates still taught in much the same manner.

The final strand in the tradition is philosophical rhetoric. This is the rhetoric of Socrates, Plato, and in large part of Aristotle, though Aristotle, especially in book three, incorporates significant amounts of the technical strand into his account. Philosophical rhetoric has little interest in the orator, though it prefers that he be a good man. It is interested to a much greater extent in the souls of the audience and in the effect of the message upon them. Philosophical rhetoric and Judaeo-Christian rhetoric approach each other in this respect, and it might be noted as well that the greatest example of philosophical rhetoric, the second speech of Socrates in the *Phaedrus,* like Christian rhetoric resulted from an intervention by God, the voice which told Socrates to come back and undo the harm of his first speech in support of the non-lover. If technical rhetoric is predominantly judicial, and sophistic rhetoric is predominantly epideictic, lovers of symmetry might hope that philosophical rhetoric would be predominantly deliberative, and they will not be disappointed. Its greatest theme is what its audience should believe or do in their own interest, and Aristotle in the first chapter of the *Rhetoric* declares that political oratory is indeed the highest form, and the form most neglected by the writers of technical handbooks.

Philosophical rhetoric is intimately associated with dialectic. In Plato it uses the dialectical method of definition and division and differs from dialectic primarily in form, since it expounds its truths rather than elicits them in question and answer method. In Aristotle's system dialectic is a more limited faculty, but even so, rhetoric remains an antistrophe of it, or in another definition a *paraphues,* or offshoot, or in another a small part or *morion* of dialectic. That aspect of philosophical

rhetoric which has been strongest over the centuries has been the topics, made by Aristotle equally a part of dialectic and rhetoric, limited by Cicero to a part of rhetoric, reestablished by Boethius as a part of dialectic, restored to rhetoric by Trebizond and Valla, and again to dialectic by Agricola and Ramus, until discredited by the French logicians and their English followers in the seventeenth century. Yet I detect some signs of the revival of the topics among modern rhetoricians.

Classicists are fond of lamenting the decline of the classics, but of course in a number of ways the classics are stronger in the twentieth century than at any other time. Waning of romanticism and disillusionment with technology provide an opening to the classics again. The twentieth century has a knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of classical art perhaps not found since the time of Hadrian. The twentieth century understands the pre-Socratic philosophers in a degree perhaps unrivalled since when? the time of Lucretius? Plato has had a continuous history of influence since his own time, but the profundity of understanding of Plato seems to me considerably greater than anything since Late Antiquity. John Quincy Adams in his Boylston lectures on rhetoric brusquely swept aside the notions of Plato as "intellectual chaos" and many neoclassicists shared his view, especially in America. Understanding of Plato in the twentieth century has been accompanied by a general reemergence of Greek philosophical rhetoric as a powerful discipline, worthy of serious attention. In America the influences which have had much to do with this phenomenon include the study of rhetoric at Cornell University in the 1920s and 1930s, especially the work of Lane Cooper, who brought both the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* into the main stream of literary study. Moving out from Cornell, the study of rhetoric in departments of speech or speech communication became common, and a basic text was the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, often in the translation of Lane Cooper himself. Other important influences have been the school of literary criticism at the University of Chicago, and in particular the work of Richard McKeon, the writings of the maverick Kenneth Burke, especially his *Rhetoric of Motives* and his *Rhetoric of Religion,* the one conceived out of Aristotle, the other out of Augustine, and not least the foundation of the journal *Philosophy and Rhetoric* at Pennsylvania State University in 1968. Behind all of this stands a much increased awareness of the centrality of speech in human life and of the primacy of oral over written communication, reflected also in the work of Milman Parry and succeeding students of oral poetry and folktale. In Europe I suppose the most important work in the new philosophical rhetoric, and one which still owes much to Aristotle, is that by Chaim Perelman and his school in Belgium, France, Italy, Romania, and elsewhere, especially the work written by Perelman in collaboration with L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *La Nouvelle Rhétorique. Traité de l'argumentation.* It opens with the following words: "La publication d'un traité consacré à l'argumentation et son rattachement à une vieille tradition, celle de la rhétorique et de la dialectique grecques, constituent une rupture avec une conception de la raison et du raisonnement, issue de Descartes, qui a marqué de son sceau la philosophie occidentale des

trois derniers siècles." The generally increased interest in rhetoric throughout the world is well symbolized in the formation of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric, which held its first meeting in Zurich in 1977.

Now I would not argue that the new rhetoric of Perelman or of anyone else is entirely a classical rhetoric, but it is a rhetoric in the classical tradition, it is at the least classicizing, and it is not uncomfortable with at least some of the terminology and categories of classical rhetoric, especially of Aristotelian rhetoric. This raises a question which needs more attention from students of Aristotle. To what extent is the *Rhetoric* what Aristotle seems to have intended to write, a universal statement of the faculty, a rhetoric for all mankind and for all time, and to what extent is it limited by specific cultural phenomena of Aristotle's age or his failure to work out the system in logical detail?

Aristotle defined rhetoric as δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν , a faculty for observing in each case the available means of persuasion. Modern criticisms of this definition are that it is both too broad and too narrow: "in each case" expands rhetoric beyond formal speech and perhaps beyond speech itself, whereas "persuasion" unnecessarily eliminates such goals as the clear communication of knowledge or the deepening of a belief on the part of an audience already basically converted, as for example in the audience of a funeral oration. Aristotle clearly believed that rhetoric existed outside the situation of formal oratory – his discussion of rhetoric in tragedy is one example – and his phrase *peri hekaston* is essentially following the line charted by Plato in the *Gorgias,* where rhetoric is defined to include one-to-one encounters, but in popular usage largely applied to oratory. Conversely, the objections to *pithanon* and *peithein* as too narrow fail to realize that Aristotle means by persuasion the total acceptance of the message of the speaker as stated. *Peithein* does not need to involve an attitude change unless a gulf of opinion already exists between speaker and audience. Aristotle's definition of rhetoric is somewhat reminiscent of the opening of the *Poetics.* There too we are met by a broad view of poetry as imitation of all sorts, but this is then rapidly restricted to imitation in words and then further to the literary genres of poetry known to the Greeks. Furthermore, persuasion as the end of rhetoric corresponds in a general way to catharsis as the final cause of tragedy. Neither concept is defined – at least in the extant texts; both involve a complex psychological state of knowledge and pleasure.

In the text of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* the definition of the subject as the faculty of discovering the available means of persuasion at the beginning of chapter two is then broken down into modes of proof, of which some are non-artistic and external, some artistic and internal to the speech. Although rhetoricians have usually accepted this distinction, since the neoclassical period they have also usually noted that the artistic proofs are built on the external and direct evidence and that a full theory of rhetoric needs to consider how the speaker utilizes his possible material. It is, I think, a limitation of his own age that Aristotle gives such a limited list of external proofs: texts of laws, oaths, evidence of free witnesses, evidence of slaves taken

under torture, and contracts. That is all. The list shows the strong influence of judicial oratory upon the development of technical theory. In particular, two elements which Aristotle would have to label external are omitted: the authority of the speaker and the influence of the occasion on which he speaks. We have seen that the authority of the speaker is an important element in Judaeo-Christian rhetoric. It is a major factor in the speeches of Cicero, especially after his consulship. It is much less important in Greek oratory because of the democratic assumptions in both the assembly and lawcourts. A Greek litigant, delivering a speech prepared by a logographer, can hardly use the authority of his speech-writer and often has very little authority of his own to present. Although Pericles, as seen in Thucydides, makes some use of the authority of his position, the other most famous Greek orator, Demosthenes, does not exploit it in the *Philippics*.

Aristotle next divides artistic proof into the three types of *ethos, logos,* and *pathos*. Authority would fall under *ethos,* as it does in Christian rhetoric, were it not for the fact that Aristotle specifically limits *ethos* to artistic features of the speech itself – chiefly the way the words of the speaker demonstrate his moral character. The universality of the *ethos-logos-pathos* distinction, applying respectively to the roles of the speaker, the speech, and the audience, seems clear, but it might be better for this division to be made prior to the distinction of artistic and non-artistic proof. This would allow us, then, to break down *ethos* into external factors, such as the authority of the speaker, and internal factors, such as the art by which moral character is expressed in words. *Logos* similarly could include both external factors, such as the direct evidence of judicial oratory, and the argumentation built thereon internally to the art. This might then offer an opportunity to include the factor of the occasion under which the speech is delivered, which often is of crucial importance to the form, the choice and arrangement of the material, and the orator's success. External factors also affect the audience, in particular their prejudices and their expectations of the orator. These factors are often discussed by later writers on rhetoric; Aristotle, however, not only makes little provision for them, but specifically chides the writers of handbooks for excessive preoccupation with such matters. His view of the whole subject is partially blinded by the importance in his mind of establishing the basis of philosophical rhetoric in dialectic, which the handbook writers had indeed ignored.

The third of Aristotle's major divisions of the subject of rhetoric, and the one most permanently and consistently influential, is the distinction of the three genres of oratory: judicial, deliberative, and epideictic. These forms are clearly intended by Aristotle as universal concepts. Every audience, he says, is a judge or is not a judge. If it is a judge, it either judges past actions, and the situation is judicial, or future actions, in which case we are dealing with deliberative oratory. In the judicial situation the key issue is justice; in the deliberative situation the best interest of the audience. If the audience is not a judge, it is a *theoros,* a spectator of praise and blame. In general, Aristotle's approach to judicial and deliberative rhetoric as matters relating to judgement of past and of future respectively is satisfactory and

has rarely been questioned. It is epideictic that is the problem. The major difficulties are two in number. One is the distinction between form and intent, a distinction which Aristotle does not recognize. The other is the extent to which the audience in epideictic has to be considered a judge.

In Aristotle's system epideictic is a matter of praise or blame, of a person or conceivably something else, like a city. He is thinking of something like an Athenian funeral oration or some sophistic speeches, such as Isocrates' *Encomium of Helen.* Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen,* on the other hand, is already a problem in this classification, since it is really a defence of Helen and at least ostensibly seeks to show that Helen cannot justly be condemned. Now justice is the issue of judicial oratory, not of epideictic. Conversely, what do we do in Aristotle's system with Isocrates' *Antidosis?* In form it is a judicial speech, though never given in a lawcourt, and it seeks to defend Isocrates against his critics. Aristotle's epideictic audience is a *theoros,* but in book II .18 he himself admits that there is a sense in which the epideictic audience judges the performance it witnesses, just as a spectator does at the games. Presumably a sophist wants a favorable judgement of his rhetorical abilities. Worse, even pure epideictic, like a funeral oration, especially a really good funeral oration, has some point other than the demonstration of the nobility of those who have died. At very least, there is an implication that the audience should live up to its model of virtue: go thou and do likewise. And in something like the funeral oration in Thucydides there is a considerably greater message, approaching the issue of expediency which characterizes deliberative oratory. Indeed, almost all the great epideictic orations of Isocrates are, in Aristotle's system – if one overlooks the form they take – deliberative, characteristically urging upon the Greeks the expediency of a war against the barbarian.

Thus Aristotelian epideictic is not a very satisfactory category. So what do we do? One possibility might be to say that epideictic is not a genre, parallel to the other two. There are perhaps only two basic genres of oratory, since the audience is always in some sense a judge, and most of what we commonly call epideictic is really deliberative; some, however, like Gorgias' *Helen* or Isocrates' *Antidosis* is really judicial. Epideictic can then be made into a mood, manner, quality or style. It is something laid on to oratory, seen especially in excursus and in passages of praise or blame, such as Cicero's remarks about Pompey in his otherwise deliberative speech *On the Manilian Law.* Aristotle hints at this possibility in chapter twelve of book three, where he discusses the epideictic style. Another possibility is the theory of Chaim Perelman in *La Nouvelle Rhétorique* that epideictic is oratory which does not seek to change attitude, but to deepen a conviction already held. This would apply to most funeral oratory and to much preaching and could probably be stretched to include Isocrates' *Panegyricus* on the assumption that the Greeks really believe in Panhellenism against the barbarian under Athenian leadership, but have allowed their enthusiasm to fade and need to be reassured. The major objection which I see to the Perelman solution is the problem of form versus actual intent, with which it does not deal. Another solution has recently been

proposed by Walter H. Beale in the fall 1978 issue of *Philosophy and Rhetoric.* It is the idea that epideictic is essentially situational oratory or what we sometimes call occasional oratory. In this approach, we would divide speeches on the basis of the situation or occasion under which they are given: one situation is a court of law, one a deliberative assembly, others to be found among the formal occasions of cultural life, such as funerals, weddings, and the Fourth of July, still another is the situation of philosophical or theological debate. It might then be possible to arrange a spectrum of such situations and to make parallel with them a spectrum of degrees of rhetoric, ranging from complete attitude change to the deepening of conviction, to simple communication of fact with little implication for action. The attraction of this approach is increased by the fact already noted, that Aristotle's system in several ways fails to recognize the importance of the surrounding occasion, for example in the distinctions of external and internal proof and in the treatment of ethos. In a word, Aristotle needed to add a fourth element to the three factors in the speech act which he identifies in chapter one: not only speaker, speech, and audience, but also occasion.

Somewhere in the islands of the blessed, far beyond the Gates of Heracles, rise the classic temples, the baths and the gymnasia of a heavenly city where the noble Greeks continue their practice of *mousike* and *gymnastike.* Along the side of one of those gymnasia, where the young men killed at the battles of Leuctra and Chaeronea gather in the invigorating morning air, is a pleasant *peripateia,* and along its colonnade, especially somewhat later in the day, it is said that the shade of Aristotle walks and talks with Theophrastus. They speak of *to on* and entelechy, of coming into being and passing away, of polity and *ethos,* and of the parts of animals and the figures of the syllogism, and sometimes, as was their ancient wont, in the afternoons they give an hour or two to rhetoric and the minor arts. Recently as I walked along Hadrian's Wall I suddenly saw, materializing out of the mists, the venerable figure of the Stagirite striding purposely toward me. "I hear you are going to Birmingham," he said, with a slight Macedonian burr, "and I have a message for you to take to them." I bowed and took out my notebook. "Tell them," he said, "that the discovery of truth is a slow process and requires repeated improvement of definitions and clarification of ends. It takes many swallows to make a summer. Theodectes and I worked out a system several times, even when the old philosopher was still alive, and some of my assistants made a collection of the arts of the rhetoricians. It was, after all, shameful to be silent and allow Isocrates to purvey his nonsense. We made much progress, I thought, and I tried putting together our ideas with a considerable amount of handbook information as an overall picture of what rhetoric really is. Invention, as you call it, and dialectic and the topics are the most important parts, but clearly style and arrangement have some influence on the whole, and I even suggested that somebody should work out a theory of delivery. Theophrastus tells me that he tried his hand at it. From the reports which come down to me here it rather seems as though many rhetoricians went back to those dreary superficial handbooks, or were taken in by the empty nothings of some

sophists, or confused oral rhetoric with literary composition, but I am encouraged to hear that in 1979, the two thousand three hundredth anniversary of my death, in distant kingdoms and remote republics, understanding of rhetoric again advances along the lines I once suggested. Man is a political animal; rhetoric is a useful tool, but remember that we must not persuade what is wrong. The union of wisdom and eloquence is the goal of all polite learning." And he faded in the northern gloom.

The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: the Importance of Rhetoric

HERBERT HUNGER

It is well known to all who study Byzantine civilization that in Byzantium tradition was always stronger by far than innovation. The classical tradition in Byzantium has been a favoured topic for a long time, whether in art, literature, law and administration or in social structure; there were, for example, slaves even during the last generations of the period of the Palaiologoi.

The classical tradition was never completely disrupted in Byzantium and therefore should be considered more as survival than as revival. We can admire it even today in famous works of architecture (beginning with Hagia Sophia in Constantinople), in excellent architectural sculptures, in Constantinopolitan mosaics and frescoes up to the Late Byzantine period and again in illuminated calligraphic manuscripts of high quality, and in coins and seals.

In view of this survival it is possible to speak of renascences in Byzantium only *cum grano salis;* nevertheless Byzantine art was a prerequisite for Western renascence. Otto Demus called Byzantine art *magistra Europae.*[1] This statement applies, however, only to those works of art which preserve the classical heritage in some way. It does not refer to the numerous provincial works such as primitive churches in caves or villages, primitive picture books, manuscripts of low quality for daily use or simple lead seals of unimportant people. *Mutatis mutandis,* a similar difference can be observed in literature.

The classical tradition lived on in all those works of theological or secular literature which were written in the literary language. In the so-called popular literature it can be found only in modified classical themes, for example, in the various stories about Alexander, in the *Achilleis,* the Belisarius poem or the *Vita Aesopi.* Only traces of the classical tradition appear in practical handbooks such as the dreambooks, Astrologika, Iatrosophia, Geoponika, Seismologia, Brontologia, or in some of the chronicles and hagiographic texts. These works lack erudition, high style and therefore rhetoric. On the other hand they appeal to us by their freshness, their closeness to everyday life and by their popular language; they are no doubt important for the study of material culture. However, we do not have to consider them here.

1. O. Demus, "Vorbildqualität und Lehrfunktion der byzantinischen Kunst", *Akten des 21. Internat. Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964, I: Epochen europäischer Kunst* (Berlin, 1967), 92-8; *Idem, Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970), 1-44, esp. 15.

Let me first say a few words on the theory of rhetoric. We read in the *Souda* s.v. Ἑρμογένης: τέχνην ῥητορικήν, ἣν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες. The *Corpus Hermogenianum* consists of the following: *Progymnasmata,* the book *Peri Staseon,* the book *Peri Heureseos,* the book *Peri Ideon* (on "forms" of speech) and the book *Peri Methodou Deinotetos* (highest possible rhetorical impact). The remark in the *Souda* appears trustworthy, if we think of the great number of Hermogenes manuscripts in Byzantium and especially of the numerous commentaries.

The five-part *Corpus* of Hermogenes gained acceptance only slowly. Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata,* for example, were replaced by those of Aphthonius. The *Corpus* is already considered canonical during the Middle Byzantine period, for instance, by John of Sardis in the early ninth century. It served as the theoretical foundation for all Byzantine rhetoric. Around 1900 and in the following decades Byzantine commentaries, paraphrases and excerpts of the *Corpus,* many of them unpublished, were studied for the first time by modern scholars; this task is by no means finished. In volume I of my *Handbuch* I have tried to give a synopsis of the current research on these topics.[2] Commentaries on Hermogenes expanded considerably as can be seen from some manuscripts of later centuries which are laid out in the manner of theological catenae. The text in the centre is surrounded on all sides by one or two columns of comments. It is rather difficult to organize and arrange the confusing mass of these more or less learned notes, especially since every one of the Byzantine theoreticians adapted the material for his own teaching.

The *Prolegomena* to these handbooks of rhetoric have been worked through to a certain extent by Hugo Rabe, the most industrious and successful scholar in this somewhat boring subject, who edited thirty-three texts in his Teubner edition of 1931.

In the Middle Byzantine period we find verse compendia of the theory of rhetoric. Michael Psellos wrote 541 political verses on the topic. A similar, but far longer, work by Tzetzes, remains only partially published. In the time of the Palaiologoi, Joseph the philosopher included rhetoric in his encyclopaedia. A short compendium is attributed to George Gemistos Plethon; an even shorter epitome by Matthew Kamariotes was written after the fall of Constantinople.

The two works by Menander of Laodicea on epideictic speeches influenced Byzantine rhetoric at least as much as the *Corpus Hermogenianum.* Without discussing the still disputed authorship of the second work I want to emphasize that this catalogue and description of all types of panegyric speeches became essential for Byzantine rhetoric. As can be seen from Menander's instructions, all these types of speeches for all kinds of occasions had one thing in common: a more or less extensive part of the speech was an *enkomion,* a praise of the celebrated person or persons. Since Menander lived as early as the late third century, and built upon the

2. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,* I (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII.5.1, Munich, 1978), 75-91.

experiences of earlier generations, we have to consider his instructions for rhetoric as an important element of the classical tradition in Byzantine rhetoric.[3]

Another reason why the Byzantines followed these works of rhetorical theory more or less consistently through the centuries is the victory of atticism which goes back to early imperial times. Both atticism and mimesis dominated Greek rhetoric from at least the fourth century A.D. as conservative factors.

What kind of changes could nevertheless be expected in this field since Early Byzantine times, and where could they come from? The changes which separated Byzantine society and politics, not merely from the time of the principate, but even more so from the time of ancient Greek democracy, had some effect.

Already in the kingdoms of the Diadochi, after the break-up of Alexander's empire, the traditional Greek freedom of speech was severely curtailed, as these states were undeniably modelled on the pattern of the oriental monarchy. As the *principatus* of Augustus developed into the *dominatus* of Diocletian and his successors, the scope of *parrhesia* was continually reduced, until large parts of the realm of ancient rhetoric vanished from the map. First, the political speech (*genos symbouleutikon*) in the old sense was doomed to die out. But the manuals of forensic rhetoric (*genos dikanikon*) also lost their value because, on the one hand, law was increasingly codified, while on the other the emperor came to be regarded as *nomos empsychos* with whom the final decision rested in all legal questions. Only the solemn, elaborate address for formal occasions (*genos epideiktikon, panegyrikon*) remained alive, becoming the focus of the whole array of artistic devices developed by rhetoric. These started to encroach on all literary genres; historiography and letter-writing, essays and technical literature, Greek and Latin legislation as well as poetry, epic and epigram came more and more under the sway of rhetoric.

We see therefore on the one hand rhetoric reduced to *epideixis*, on the other hand expanded over almost all literary genres. At the same time, mimesis easily spread over all these genres; no renascence was required to achieve this, since these genres had been cultivated continually since ancient times.

We also know where this epideictic speech was cultivated: in the so-called *theatra* which are first attested in the early imperial period and can be found throughout Byzantine history until the end, especially frequently in the time of the Palaiologoi. Speeches, essays, letters and poems were presented to the public in the *theatra*. The listeners took notes and used occasional gems for their own production. Applause and repeated success in their appearances were the rhetor's compensation for his work and increased his prestige.

While the tasks of rhetoric changed according to the socio-economic situation, its influence remained unaltered, and so did its use of the classical tradition. This is shown, for example, by the way the *prooimion* was used within rhetoric. Already the oldest texts on rhetoric see the task of the *prooimion* in preparing the audience

3. Cf. e.g. J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede in ihrer Tradition dargestellt, hrsg., übersetzt und kommentiert* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1974).

psychologically for the following speech; the technical term for this was *therapeia.* In late Byzantine times high officials still composed *prooimia* of this type serving the purposes of political propaganda as intended by the imperial chancery. Such *prooimia* and *silentia* by Theodore Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos, Nikephoros Gregoras, Demetrios Kydones, and of course Psellos, are preserved.

The victory of the new ideology, Christianity, necessarily brought about major changes in the classical tradition in literature and therefore in rhetoric. Radical proponents of the new doctrine attacked on the one hand the unacceptable pagan content of Greek literature, and on the other the element of persuasion in rhetoric. This core of rhetoric had been formulated by the ancient sophists to make the weaker case the stronger (τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν) without regard for truth or moral values – which brought about Christian criticism on ethical grounds. Paul says (I Corinthians, II.4), "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power". He rejects the "speech" and the enticing words, the learned language of classical tradition (*ibid.*, I.17: οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου "... not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect"). This judgement applied equally to the rhetorical means of persuasion, and to the whole array of rhetorical topics and metaphors. "A river of words, but only a drop of spiritual content" is the verdict of Clement of Alexandria about the products of the classical rhetorical tradition.[4] Photios, himself a master of style-criticism, brings excuses for the simple style of the writings of the apostles and contrasts the word-play of Gorgias with the serious language of St Paul.[5] This attitude began to change slowly when the education of Christian authors improved and Christianity penetrated the higher levels of society. Whereas the New Testament was devoid of atticism, and whereas some of the early Church Fathers repeatedly criticised the rhetorically embellished writings of pagan authors for their lack of spiritual substance, influential writers in the fourth century came to feel that the further propagation of Christianity would depend on the integration into Christian literature of the entire range of formal pagan culture, which meant a culture steeped in rhetoric. The Emperor Julian's famous edict excluding Christians from higher education and from the study of classical literature shows that this view was correct. Eusebius of Caesarea, the great Cappadocians as well as John Chrysostom, had all received the grammatical and rhetorical training typical of their age, and put their skills to good use in their extensive literary work, which largely consisted of prose, but in the case of St Gregory of Nazianzus also included poetry. This attitude of the great Fathers of the Church set the tone for the thousand years of Byzantine literary history. Thereby rhetoric remained victorious in this field too. Christian authors used every conceivable means of rhetoric in their fight against paganism; I will return to this later.

4. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis,* I.3 (22.5), ed. L. Früchtel (GCS, Berlin, 1960), 15 = PG, 8, cols. 712C-3A.
5. Photios, *Amphilochia,* 86 and 92, PG, 101, cols. 557A; 585C.

In what follows I want to show in a *tour d'horizon* how the classical rhetorical tradition and more modern (i.e. Christian) ideas conflicted with each other, existed side by side or were integrated in Byzantine literature of a high level, both in content as well as in form.

In a few areas of Byzantine literature the pagan classical tradition remained almost untouched by the spiritual revolutions of Late Antiquity. The *progymnasmata*, equally important for the theory and practice of rhetoric, were dominated by pagan classical motifs until Middle Byzantine times: most topics come from Greek mythology, followed by examples from history and fables. Christian themes found their way into the *progymnasmata* only slowly and late. A remarkable example of how even Byzantine clerics could completely disregard their own ideology when using mythological motifs is the *Ethopoiia* on Pasiphae by Nikephoros Basilakes. This was emphasized by Hans-Georg Beck who said, ". . . ein Liebesgestammel der Pasiphae, das fast wie eine völlig sympathisierende psychologische Analyse einer perversen Neigung anmutet". The author, Beck continues, shows no mental reservation and writes, so to speak, "ohne mit der orthodoxen Wimper zu zucken".[6]

It seems natural to us that the epics of Late Antiquity (by Nonnus and his followers) prefer pagan themes even after the victory of Christianity. But Byzantine epistolography too was always dominated by the classical tradition within rhetoric. Here we shall be dealing with the best preserved class of Byzantine letters, that is the Literary Private letters. An anonymous writer of the tenth century adduces the personification of Ananke, Ariadne, the Aloades, Heracles and Hylas, and Sisyphus, all these only to explain to his correspondent that he had lost a copy of Photios' commentary on *Peri Staseon* which he had written himself, and which he suspects to be in the possession of the addressee.[7] When Nikephoros Ouranos wants to paint for Stephen, metropolitan of Nicomedia, a vivid picture of the troubles of military life and of his longing for home, he refers to Kronos who swallows a stone (comparing it with inedible barrack bread), and also to Calypso, Perseus and Ulysses among the Laestrygonians and Cyclopes.[8] Many more such letters could be mentioned.

Finally we have to remember the four romances from the Comnene period. While the Byzantine romance did not directly descend from rhetoric, as was said at the time of Krumbacher and Rohde, it was still deeply influenced by it. Pagan *Tyche* dominates the life of the characters, especially of the two lovers, and the frequently tyrannical Eros manipulates the fates of men. This obviously conveys to the reader a certain pagan flavour.[9] Several times the Delphic oracle gives a new

6. H-G. Beck, "Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner", *Sb. Österr. Ak. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 294.4 (1974), 22.
7. J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 369-71; this Photios was a commentator of the fifth century, Hunger, *op.cit.*, I, 82, and note 49.
8. Darrouzès, *op.cit.*, 244-7.
9. C. Cupane, *"Eros basileus.* La Figura di Eros nel romanzo bizantino d'amore", *AttiAcc.Sc. Lett. Art. Palermo*, ser. 4, 33 (1973-4), 243-97; H. Hunger, "Un roman byzantin et son atmosphère: Callimaque et Chrysorrhoè", *TM*, 3 (1968), 405-22.

turn to the action of a romance, but the Christian God is never mentioned nor invoked by any of the characters. In twelfth-century Byzantine romances the classical tradition is completely present, while Christianity is wholly left out.

How could such a wide-ranging mimesis of pagan classical motifs remain unimpaired throughout the Byzantine millennium? The answer is that all these products of rhetoric were considered as *quantité négligeable* by politicians as well as by the church, even if occasionally an emperor did listen to recitations in a *theatron*, as did Andronikos II.

Apart from these examples of the preservation of the classical rhetorical tradition which disregard Christian ideology, there is a large number of rhetorical works in Byzantine literature where pagan themes or whole systems of thought were modified by Christian influence. They result from the tendency to integrate pagan thinking and philosophy into Christian theory, based on the simile of the grafting of a wild olive tree used by St Paul in his letter to the Romans. Theodore II Laskaris and others called this μεταφυτεύειν and αἰχμαλωτίζειν (*scil.* πᾶν νόημα εἰς Χριστόν).[10] In this way Eusebius of Caesarea transformed pagan Roman imperial ideology into a Christian Byzantine system on which courtly rhetoric was based from the fourth century on. Everything was understood from the Christian point of view: the emanation of the emperor from God, the imitation of God by the emperor, the emperor's providence as corresponding to God's, the emperor as law-giver and judge, as benefactor who improves all defects, as helper and healer of his subjects, as personified *philanthropia* and image of the sun. Byzantine rhetors had the task of presenting the old pagan themes with a Christian understanding, of pouring old wine into new skins, so to speak, which they did again and again in *enkomia, epitaphioi,* and in all other speeches.

Let us now direct our attention to that fusion of classical and modern elements which became possible only as a result of the intellectual struggle between Christianity and Paganism. This struggle took place mainly in the fourth century as a reevaluation of values. The weight of words was deliberately and aggressively changed by the Christians. They deprived a number of expressions of their previous usage and usurped them for their own cause. The best known example of this procedure is the change in meaning of *philosophia, philosophos, philosophein.* In this case the development had already begun among the Jews, for instance, by Philo of Alexandria, and was furthered by Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea and many others. They insisted on distinguishing between ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία and ἡ ἔξω (ἔξωθεν) φιλοσοφία of the pagans. The important innovation was to move *philosophia* from the realm of theory to that of practical ethics so that the word was finally "conquered" to mean "Christian life"

10. Cf. H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit. Mit einem Exkurs über die Kosmike Delosis Theodoros' II Dukas Laskaris", *JÖBG,* 8 (1959), 136-7, reprint *Byzantinistische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973).

in the sense of the "ascetic life of a monk", so that *philosophos* could be equated with "monk".[11]

Already in New Testament texts *kosmos* meant the despicable materialistic world, in opposition to its meaning "well-ordered whole world" in older Greek. This reinterpretation became established by the writings of the Church Fathers. As Christ had judged the world so it was necessary to do so for everyone who wanted to become his follower. While *politeia* meant, for classical authors, among other things, participation in political life, it was turned into the opposite among the Christians, especially in hagiography. It was the ascetic life of eremites, implying rejection of political activity. Similarly the four cardinal virtues of Plato (*andreia, phronesis, sophrosyne, dikaiosyne*) were interpreted in a Christian way and deprived of their secular connotations. The ambivalent meanings of *daimon* had already been reduced to "evil spirit" or "devil" in the New Testament. In the same way, the connotation of deceptiveness, attested for *eidolon* already in Plato, is emphasized, and the word reduced to "(pagan) idol", being used even as a word of provocation, especially in the composite *eidololatres.*

The usurpation of classical pagan words for Christian purposes opened the way, on the other hand, to the use of many words without embarrassment which had lost their pagan connotation. Examples are ναός = church nave or church; τέμενος = church; ἐκκλησία = church; πανήγυρις = church assembly; ὕμνος = church song; χειροτονεῖν = ordain (a priest) and so on. On the other hand venerable pagan expressions lost their value: ἄδυτον , the room where the god's statue resided accessible only to the priest, is once used by Psellos to refer to the room of Skleraina, Constantine Monomachos' mistress.[12]

Part of this reevaluation was done by means of metaphor. I only mention the well-known metaphors from the area of sport and military life which go back to St Paul and are used extensively by the Church Fathers, e.g. John Chrysostom: ἀγών, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἆθλος, ἀθλητής, ἀσκεῖν, ἄσκησις, δρόμος, γρηγορεῖν, νηστεύειν, παλαίστρα, στάδιον, στέφανον ἀναδεῖσθαι, στρατιώτης, συνωρίς and others. All these words were used with Christian and spiritual connotations which gave additional importance to the new teaching in the mind of the public. The purpose was to change consciousness by changing language. Thucydides was the first to show the connexion between revolution and deliberate reinterpretation of words in his famous chapter (III.82) on *stasis* in Kerkyra. Plato in the *Republic* added the pairs αἰδώς – ἡλιθιότης, σωφροσύνη

11. A.-M. Malingrey, *Philosophia. Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque des présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.C.* (Paris, 1961).

12. Psellos, *Chronographia,* VI.63.7-9, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926), I, 147; Διανεμάμενοι δὲ τὰς οἰκήσεις, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸ μέσον ἔλαχε τῶν τριῶν, αἱ δὲ πέριξ ἐσκήνουν, τὸ δὲ ἄδυτον εἶχεν ἡ σεβαστή. Cf. VI.59.2f., *ibid.*, I, 145.

- ἀνανδρία, μετριότης - ἀγροικία, κοσμία δαπάνη - ἀνελευθερία, ἀναρχία - ἐλευθερία, ἀσωτία - μεγαλοπρέπεια, ἀναίδεια - ἀνδρεία. [13] Today we are witnesses of similar attempts by those who want to change society radically. This fight was coupled with rhetorical aggression, already in the fourth century, and similarly in the following centuries.

There are convincing examples in Eusebius: he calls paganism a wrong way, πλάνη or τὰ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης, ῥύπος ἀθέου πλάνης. Another pejorative expression for paganism is: αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα θεολογεῖν. Eusebius coined slogans like "The invention of idols was the beginning of fornication" (ἀρχὴ πορνείας ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων) he compares paganism to the worst darkness, Christianity to bright daylight.[14] He calls paganism a sickness (*nosos*) and the Christian faith a medicine (*pharmakon*); the gospel is healing from evil (*iasis kakon*), the cross is *soterion sema.* Eusebius knew very well that all these neologisms were useful for the ideological struggle. In this way he once defined Christianity as "a new, true knowledge of God which indicates its newness already in its name" (ἀλλά τις καινὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς θεοσοφία ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν καινοτομίαν ἐπαγομένη) .[15] In the sixth century Romanos Melodos still emphasized the newness of Christianity when he lets the Samaritan woman speak the slogan-like "Let the old end and the new blossom" (ἀργείτω τὰ γηράσαντα καὶ ἀνθείτω τὰ νέα) .[16]

The new Christian connotations of words made it possible to use these words in all types of literature. At the same time theological literature was heavily rhetoricised. This can be observed especially with the Cappadocians and John Chrysostom. Romanos' *Kontakia* use many rhetorical tools so that they appear as real Christian homilies: alliteration and rhyme, rhetorical questions, *anaphora, paronomasia,* antithesis, metaphors, sequences of short *kommata* etc. That Romanos used language deliberately for theological teaching can be seen from the example of Mary's asking Jesus at the wedding in Cana why he felt bound by the "hour". The answer is given by explaining the notion of *taxis.*[17] The author's interest in the style of the gospels points in the same direction.[18]

Even the most impressive metaphors and neologisms are bound to become clichés if they are used too often. The metaphor of the meal (*trapeza*), referring to participation in spiritual goods, was applied for religious teaching and used fre-

13. Plato, *Republic,* 560 de.
14. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica,* 1.5.1, ed. K. Mras (GCS, Berlin, 1954), 19.
15. Eusebius, *op.cit.,* I.5. 12, *ibid.,* 22.
16. Romanos, *Kontakia,* 9.10.6, ed. P. Maas and C. Trypanis (Oxford, 1963), 68.
17. *idem,* 7.13.4; 14.5ff., *ibid.,* 53-4.
18. *idem,* 9.6 6ff., *ibid.,* 66.

quently at the beginning of homilies.[19] Similarly the final formulae of homilies, where attention was drawn to the eternal goods of the afterlife, became petrified and were varied endlessly in small details only by rhetorically trained authors. Flexibility in rhetoric, which is found even in the formulae of legal documents, for example in the register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, is inherited from classical times.

When dealing with the formal aspects of literary prose it is the characteristic of the Byzantine rhetor to submit to atticism and in consequence to mimesis. Atticism, whose founders in antiquity are responsible for the unfortunate *diglossia* of the Greeks even today, controlled all the rhetorically influenced literature of the Byzantines. In most cases formal elements are concerned. Mimesis of exemplary classical authors like Thucydides, Plato, Isocrates, Lysias, Xenophon and Demosthenes can be seen in the formal structure of essays or historical writings, in the *prooimion*, typical scenes, *exempla* from mythology and history, in quotations from classical sources and in the language from phonetics to syntax and vocabulary. Authors are more or less anxious to avoid "modern" expressions and are purists in their choice of words. This applies, as everybody knows, to the names of peoples and persons, toponyms, cultural institutions, especially ecclesiastical ones, technical terms in administration and in the army, offices and titles in court ceremonial, and of course all loan-words from Latin, Italian, Slavic or Turkish. In language, atticism is the backbone of the classical tradition. From the point of view of the Byzantines, all slips into colloquial or, worse, popular language, spoil the classical impression of a work of literature. Different degrees of mixture of these elements lead to the notion of stylistic levels (*Stilstufen*). These have only been mentioned so far in the study of Byzantine literature, but need detailed investigation in the future.

To write ideal attic was possible in Byzantium only if one read the ancient authors (through rhetorical education in the schools) and used an atticistic lexicon for writing. For example, Agathias declares: "It is necessary to spend more time on reading the ancient sages again, because of mimesis"[20] and Theodore Metochites still calls the ancient authors the best friends and advisers.[21] Atticism was required with regard to the public, because the texts were to be recited before an educated audience. Theophylact Simocatta, like the ancient sophists, considers rhetorical method as a prerequisite for the "enchantment" of his audience: speech (*logos*),

19. S. Eustratiades, *Homiliai eis tas kyriakas tou eniautou*, I (Trieste, 1903), 341; 489: Philotheos, *Eis ta tes Synkyptouses Hypoloipa*, edd. C. Triantaphyllis and A. Grapputo, *Sylloge Hellenikon Anekdoton* (Venice, 1874), 79; John Chrysostom, *Homilies*, PG, 49, col. 244f; 257; PG, 50, cols. 587; 683.
20. Agathias, *Historiae*, III.1.4, ed. R. Keydell (CFHB, 2, Berlin, 1967), 84: δέον γὰρ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς σχολαίτερον ἀναλέγεσθαι μιμήσεως ἕνατι.
21. *Vindob. Phil. gr.* 95, fol. 201r, see H. Hunger, "Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz", *BZ*, 45 (1952), 14f.

complementing nature, affects all senses, sight, taste, feeling and hearing; it can enchant the listener especially acoustically.[22]

An example of multiple mimesis, exercised by a late Byzantine author towards the great models of the past, is the work of Laonikos Chalkokondyles. His main theme and distribution of emphasis are both derived from Herodotus. Both authors, when describing the great struggle between Greeks and barbarians, direct most of their attention to the enemy: Herodotus to the Persians, Chalkokondyles to the Turks. Just as Herodotus considers the Persian attack to be revenge for the sack of Troy, so Chalkokondyles connects the sack of Constantinople by Mehmed II with the Trojan war.[23] Apart from this mimesis of Herodotus, which concerns the main theme of the work, we find a more subtle mimesis of Thucydides. The introduction of the author himself at the beginning of the work is taken from the attic model. In addition there are many phrases and words borrowed from Thucydides' historical work by Chalkokondyles.[24] In a similar way to Chalkokondyles, who was one of the last Byzantine historians, Zosimus, one of the earliest of them, chose an ancient model for the basic concept of his work: Polybius had described the quick rise of the Romans to become the leading power in the Mediterranean. Zosimus wanted to show the downfall of the Roman Empire as caused by the spread of Christianity.[25]

Around the turn of the twentieth century Heinrich Lieberich investigated the extent to which Byzantine historians in their *prooimia* imitated classical predecessors, especially Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius and Diodorus.[26] As usual the degree of mimesis depends on the intellectual level of the author: Procopius in the *prooimia* of his three works used Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus, mixing freely several lines of thought. Some chroniclers took over the ideas of their models in a less sophisticated manner. As is well known, Theophylact Simocatta included a dialogue between the personifications of *Philosophia* and *Historia* to precede the *prooimion* of his work. While this was not mimesis of a specific author, it was applying the topos of *prosopopoiia,* learnt in the school of rhetoric, for a practical purpose.

An interesting element of mimesis is the transfer of scenes from classical authors into Byzantine historical works. Priscus reports the conquest of Naissos (Niš) by the Huns in 441 in formulations reminiscent of Thucydides' account of the conquest of Plataea (II.75f.). One is at first inclined to doubt that the Huns used siege engines

22. Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae,* Prooim. 4. ed. C. de Boor and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972), 36: τῇ τῆς ἀπηχήσεως ὑυγγι καταπηλῶν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄκουσμα μεθελκόμενος.

23. Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *Historiarum Demonstrationes,* VIII, ed. E. Darkó (Budapest, 1922-7), II, 166. Cf. Herodotus, I.5.

24. F. Rödel, *Zur Sprache des Laonikos Chalkokondyles und des Kritobulos aus Imbros* (Progr. Gymn. Ingolstadt, 1904-5), 12-34.

25. F. Paschoud, in his edition of Zosimos, I (Paris, 1971), xxii, called Zosimos "le Polybe de la décadence".

26. H. Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung, II: Die byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber und Chronisten* (Progr. Realgymn. Munich, 1900).

on this occasion, but a remark by Procopius about the Sabiri makes it likely.[27] Similar things can be said about the description of the plague in Procopius and John Kantakouzenos. Borrowings in style from Thucydides by no means imply that either Byzantine has not reported the facts correctly. In the case of Kantakouzenos this can be supported by a comparison with the section where he imitates to a large extent the chapter on *stasis* (revolution in Kerkyra, III.82) by Thucydides. While a number of sentences is taken over almost literally, Kantakouzenos does this only to lend more weight to his own description of the situation at the beginning of the civil war with the Palaiologoi at the end of 1342. The borrowed and the actual are mixed so thoroughly that the "emperor Kantakouzenos" (*basileus Kantakouzenos*) occurs twice within the context of phrases from Thucydides. To the reader it was a pleasure to recognize the borrowing from Thucydides (who is not mentioned), and Kantakouzenos could make his own experiences appear more important.[28]

The same concern lies behind the mythological and historical *exempla* which are so frequent in Byzantine rhetorical literature. It is unnecessary to enumerate here examples of persons and themes from mythology used most frequently in Byzantine literature. It may be mentioned though, that epistolographers had a special preference for Hermes, the god of rhetors. He is invoked several times by Libanius; Synesius, Thomas Magister and others compliment their correspondents by comparing them to Hermes Logios. The sender, longing to reach his addressee as fast as possible, thinks of Perseus who is equipped with winged shoes; this we find in Procopius of Gaza, Nikephoros Ouranos and Michael Psellos. The letter of the correspondent was often called a song of the Sirens because of its seductive rhetorical phrases and tropes; examples are found in Synesius, Procopius of Gaza, Psellos, Planoudes and Demetrios Kydones. The recipient is in a difficult situation, comparable to Ulysses. Historians were partly influenced by the allegorization of myths which had emerged from polemic against myth. Procopius of Caesarea says (*Wars*, VIII.1.13), "In my opinion, myth and history are separated by a wide gap". When he tries to etymologize toponyms we again find allegorization of myths.[29] In spite of a certain hesitation mythological exempla appear again and again in Byzantine historical works, admittedly in varying frequency. Most exempla from mythology are found, by comparison, in authors of the Comnene and Palaiologan periods, like Anna, Manasses, Eustathios, Niketas Choniates, Pachymeres, Gregoras, Chalkokondyles and Doukas.

Compared to mythology, historical *exempla* are less frequent everywhere. They are used by historians like Psellos and Anna Komnene for the purpose of glorifying certain emperors, as models or as fictitious early ancestors.

27. G. Moravcsik, "Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung", *Polychronion, Festschrift F. Dölger z.75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 366-77, esp. 370.
28. H. Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis", *JÖB*, 25 (1976), 181-93.
29. H. Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, I, 296.

Another example of the classical tradition in Byzantine literature is the use of quotations from ancient authors, usually without acknowledgement. This reached a peak with Eustathios and Niketas Choniates, the leading authors of the twelfth century; at some distance, they are followed by Pachymeres and Gregoras during the Palaiologan period. Apart from straight quotations from classical literature we find, beginning with Clement of Alexandria, combined quotations from secular and theological sources. This type of quotation may have arisen from the "bad conscience" of Christian authors who wanted to redeem themselves by immediately adding a quotation from the Bible or the Fathers. Niketas Choniates was a master in composing such combined quotations.[30]

It is frequently difficult to assign a Byzantine author writing in the literary language to a particular level of language with regard to his relation to atticism and purism on the one hand, and to colloquial language on the other. It is not uncommon to find in the same text elements of language and style which do not really fit each other. The Byzantines themselves certainly had a feeling for the levels of style and language of an author. Photios criticised Eunapius for "modernistic syntax" (*neoterizei*) and for excessive use of adjectives ending in -ώδης.[31] Menander edited the colloquial report by Peter the Patrician on his diplomatic mission *es to attikoteron,* that is, he performed atticistic corrections.[32] In the *prooimion* to *De administrando imperio,* the emperor Constantine VII tells his son that he has no rhetorical or atticistic ambitions, thereby justifying the colloquial language of the work. Similarly in the *prooimion* to the *De Ceremoniis,* he adheres to a simple and colloquial language in order to make understanding easier for the prince.

Most prose authors writing in the literary language gave their works a touch of atticism by employing old forms like φυλάττω, θάλαττα, γλῶττα, γιγνώσκειν and γίγνεσθαι, the attic declension, some forms of the dual, the optative, the middle voice and rare vocabulary. At the same time, they paraphrased modern and non-attic expressions in the way described above. Frequently this led to cumbersome and ridiculous phrases. Simocatta introduces the calligrapher as ἄνδρα τινὰ τῶν ἐς κάλλος γραφόντων, in spite of the fact that καλλιγράφος occurred already in Diocletian's price edict and in the pseudo-herodianic Philetairos (fourth century). Zosimus, in order to avoid the Latin *magister officiorum* wrote ὁ τῶν ἐν αὐλῇ τάξεων μάγιστρος. Pachymeres calls the patriarch πρωτοθύτης and the young crown prince νεογιλὸν θάλλος. With Kinnamos, Tzetzes and Pachymeres we find the classicistic trick of using the old attic names of the months;

30. F. Grabler, "Das Zitat als Stilkunstmittel bei Niketas Choniates", *Akten des XI. Internat. Byz. Kongr. München* 1958 (Munich, 1960), 190-3; *idem,* "Niketas Choniates als Redner, *JOBG,* 11-2 (1962-3), 57-78.

31. Photios, *Bibliotheca,* cod. 77, ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1959), I. 159.

32. *Excerpta de Sententiis,* 11, ed. U.P. Boissevain (Berlin, 1906), 19; Menander Protector, fr. 12, ed. C. Müller (FGH, 4, Paris, 1851), 217.

it became a veritable fashion among the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Some chronicles, especially Malalas, and to a lesser extent Theophanes, show a clear tendency towards colloquial language. With Genesios, Nikephoros Bryennios, Kinnamos, Doukas and Sphrantzes we find a strange mixture of colloquial and atticistic elements. Psellos' mastery of the language was so outstanding that he could write at will in all levels of the language, from atticistic purism to vulgar dialect. Similar things can be said, with some restrictions, of Anna Komnene and Eustathios. The famous atticist Anna uses a host of words from contemporary language (technical terms, loan words, foreign words) in her work and does not shy away from colloquial and popular expressions.[33] Eustathios was interested in the language of his own time, and in his commentary on Homer mentions colloquial and popular variants without a trace of the otherwise common disdain for the popular.[34]

In a recent article I was able to show in a stylistic comparison of Anna Komnene and Michael Glykas that in general Anna writes on a higher stylistic level than Glykas (periods versus mere paratactic sentences, variation versus schematism, a wealth of rhetorical figures versus a complete lack of metaphors), but that nonetheless more mimesis does not mean more distance from colloquial language. There are more occurrences of colloquial words and technical terms in Anna's work than in Glykas'; mimesis and colloquialisms are by no means in inverse proportion![35] In a similar way Agathias combines mimesis with the use of the educated colloquial language of his time.

It will be a task of the future in the field of Byzantine literature to investigate the relation between mimesis and language level of each individual author. In this investigation we will have to avoid a mistake which was made not infrequently in dealing with early Byzantine authors. From the fact alone that a prose author follows the classical tradition in rhetoric we cannot deduce his ideological position, whether convinced paganism or agnosticism. The *Umschreibungsmanie* (addiction to paraphrase) and avoidance of ecclesiastical terms still does not make Procopius of Caesarea an adversary of Christianity; it can easily be explained by the laws of mimesis.

33. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas", *Byzantine Studies-Études Byzantines*, 5 (1978), 139-170.

34. Cf. H. Hunger, rev. M. van der Valk, *BZ*, 71 (1978), 65f.

35. Hunger, *art.cit.*, passim.

Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium

CYRIL MANGO

There exists a myth of Byzantium which also serves as a justification for the pursuit of Byzantine studies. This myth was largely created in the nineteenth century and still retains much of its potency. It represents Byzantium as a beacon of classical civilization shining in the barbarous gloom of the Middle Ages. The Byzantine Empire, we are assured, saw itself as the custodian of a priceless deposit of ancient culture, and more particularly of Greek culture, which it lovingly guarded century after century until forced by the advancing hordes of Asiatic Turks to convey it to Italy, thus causing the Renaissance in the West. This deposit, we are further told, was a perennial fount from which Byzantine authors and artists drew their inspiration. Thus, for examples, Charles Diehl: "Les chefs-d'oeuvre de la littérature grecque classique étaient la base de l'éducation publique; Homère était le livre de chevet de tous les écoliers et les femmes elles-mêmes prenaient à le lire un plaisir extrême. A l'Université de Constantinople les maîtres commentaient les écrivains grecs les plus illustres . . . Bien d'autres souvenirs évoquaient la gloire de l'antiquité grecque. Constantinople était pleine des chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art grec . . . et cet admirable musée rendait plus vivante encore aux yeux la grandeur de la tradition hellénique".[1] Even the common folk of Byzantium, whether "de pure race hellénique" or Greek by adoption, allegedly retained in their consciousness a body of barely disguised lore and ritual that descended from the days of Greek paganism and which four centuries of Ottoman domination were powerless to obliterate. In short, Byzantium is portrayed both as conduit of the classical tradition to the West and as a bridge uniting ancient Greece to modern Greece.

Proponents of the myth do not deny the presence in the Byzantine amalgam of other elements, notably Christianity (itself happily penetrated by Hellenism) and the Roman tradition of governance and law. They are less ready to grant any creative role to the non-Greek peoples that undeniably dwelt in the Empire in considerable numbers, such as the Syrians, Egyptians, Jews, Armenians, Slavs and others, since the essence of Byzantium is seen to reside in its Greekness and its value as an object of study in the survival of that same Greekness, often threatened and obscured, yet always able to reassert itself.

This familiar and (to some) satisfying construction has not gone entirely unchallenged. I shall refrain from rehearsing here the various arguments that have been

1. *Les grands problèmes de l'histoire byzantine* (Paris, 1943), 8-9.

presented *pro* and *contra,* nor shall I attempt to summarize the present state of the controversy, much of which has ranged unprofitably over the same ground.[2] My purpose is merely to suggest some approaches that have not been sufficiently explored and to add a few random touches, but before doing so it will be necessary to set down certain distinctions.

The first concerns periodization. No one will deny that what we call the Early Byzantine or Late Roman world formed the direct continuation of antiquity. It was a world that was undergoing a profound transformation from within, yet remained attached to its own past for the simple reason that life went on pretty much as it had done before. This way of life came, however, to an abrupt and dramatic end in the course of the seventh century with the virtual disappearance of cities and a general shift to a rural or semi-rural existence. To the extent that antique civilization was based on the *polis,* Byzantium after the seventh century was necessarily something different. It was also different in the sense that there occurred simultaneously a widespread reshuffling of populations. Here we have the most striking and, perhaps, the most fundamental factors of discontinuity between antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages.

I do not wish to imply that the Byzantine Empire from the seventh century to the fifteenth remained bereft of towns. By slow degrees towns developed again and, if I am not mistaken, reached a peak in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were centres of economic activity with an artisanal and commercial class that was beginning to form a bourgeoisie. But they were quite unlike the cities of Late Antiquity with which they had no organic connection; furthermore, their ulterior progress was blocked by a concatenation of historical circumstances. This is not the place to evaluate the impact exerted by urban revival on the manifestations of Byzantine culture, but it is important to realize that the world of Michael Psellos differed in many respects from that of Photios, though not perhaps as markedly as the world of Photios stood apart from that of Procopius.

My second remark – I am now referring to medieval Byzantium – concerns a division of society into three cultural strata: a tiny intellectual élite, a larger public of relative literacy, and a huge mass of the illiterate amounting, at a rough guess, to over ninety-five per cent of the population. This division is not an arbitary postulate invented for the convenience of historians. The few scores or hundreds of men who at any given time constituted the élite did form a closed caste. They had attended special schools where they had learnt ancient Greek grammar and rhetoric and, thus equipped, were qualified to serve in the *sekreta* of the imperial administration and the upper echelons of the Church. Their culture was impenetrable to a wider public because it was expressed in a dead language and presupposed a body of arcane

2. For a sampling of different opinions see R. Jenkins, *Byzantium and Byzantinism* (Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple: Cincinnati, 1963); my own "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism", *JWarb,* 28 (1965), 24-43; R. Browning, *Greece – Ancient and Medieval* (Inaugural Lecture, University of London, Birkbeck College, 1966); D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Greece* (Inaugural Lecture, University of London, King's College, 1971).

knowledge. The humbler author, whether clerical or lay, who declared himself to be ἀμέτοχος τῆς θύραθεν σοφίας was, indeed, repeating a cliché but a true one none the less: he literally had no share of the ancient learning.

The almost unbroken, if at times rather tenuous, continuity of the intellectual élite, based on the survival of a particular kind of schooling, need not be doubted. Recent studies, in particular by P. Lemerle and L.G. Westerink, have also revealed many characteristics of this élite: its extremely small numbers, its essentially mandarin quality and the lack of any general interest aroused by its literary production. Grateful as we must always remain to the Byzantine intellectuals for having preserved the legacy of ancient Greek literature and philosophy, we must not forget that they have also done us a grave disservice. By expressing themselves in an artificial idiom and in a manner dictated by archaic conventions they have effectively obliterated the reality of Byzantine life. This is a topic I have discussed at greater length elsewhere;[3] a brief re-statement will suffice.

The reason why Byzantium so often appears to us in an antique guise is simply that it has been dressed in theatrical costume by its own learned authors. We are presented with a ritualized ballet in which the realm of the Romans (or, better still, of the Ausonians) is advancing or retreating amidst a troupe of Achaemenids, Babylonians, Scythians and Mysians. Historical personages are made to deliver gnomic utterances and rhetorical speeches of a kind that could never have been spoken. Of course, we all know that there were no Achaemenids in the Middle Ages and that, *pace* Constantine Porphyrogennetos, there were no Dardanians and Trojans living in the theme of Opsikion. We know, thanks to Romilly Jenkins, that Basil I, who was an illiterate Armenian, could not, upon mounting the throne, have quoted Demosthenes by saying, "We must have money: nothing that needs doing can be done without that".[4] But, no matter how alert we are, we are never quite sure where to draw the line: where affectation stops and truth begins.

There can be no doubt that behind the mock classical facade of Byzantium lay a reality that was very different. But why is this reality so elusive? Why does it require so much labour to recreate the manner in which the Byzantines went about their daily lives, and this in spite of the massive, but ill-digested and basically unhistorical compendium by Phaidon Koukoules?[5] I have already indicated one reason, namely that highbrow Byzantine authors (and these are the authors we most often read) have deliberately excluded all the detail and particularity of contemporary life. Another reason has to do with the nature of Byzantine representational art. Nearly all Byzantine painting that has come down to us is religious in content and is based on the faithful reproduction of iconographic formulas that can be traced back to the Early Christian period. It is worthy of note that in depicting such stereotyped

3. *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror* (Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford, 1975).
4. "The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature", *DOP*, 17 (1963), 44.
5. *Byzantinon bios kai politismos* (6 vols., Athens, 1948-55).

compositions Byzantine artists carefully avoided any intrusion of contemporary costumes or settings: Christ, the apostles, the prophets always appear in antique garb and, whenever architectural backdrops are introduced, these, too, are drawn from the antique repertory. Only in the later Middle Ages do we find a few contemporary touches in religious iconography, but they are limited to subsidiary personages: Pontius Pilate and Cyrenius may occasionally appear in Byzantine court garb and the Roman soldiers who guard Christ's sepulchre may be arrayed in medieval helmets and coats of mail. By and large, however, it is erroneous to use Byzantine miniatures and frescoes as illustrations of Byzantine life: the Joshua Roll in the Vatican Library is a manuscript of the tenth century, but it does not portray Byzantine soldiers at that time. The same military costumes reappear on the so-called David plates of the seventh century and it is likely that their origin goes back to an even earlier period when the iconographic model was created.

The number of exceptions to the above rule is very small indeed. The Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes, which is of Sicilian origin, is almost unique in showing, however summarily, little vignettes of Byzantine history whose originals, by definition, cannot antedate the events they portray.[6] For the rest, we have a series of imperial portraits and donor portraits that give us some idea of upper-class costume and are sufficient to dispel any notion that the Byzantines went about in himation, chlamys and sandals. It comes as a shock to see the humanist scholar Theodore Metochites decked out in caftan and huge turban like a Turkish pasha.

In order to reach, however sporadically, the level of everyday reality, we must address ourselves to lowbrow Byzantine literature and to texts that are documentary rather than literary, i.e. chronicles, saints' Lives that have not been retouched by 'metaphrasts', some legal and canonical enactments and a few, alas all too rare, down-to-earth writings like the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos. The concrete detail that emerges from such an enquiry is often unexpected as a couple of examples will show. Since I have mentioned the turban of Theodore Metochites, I may be allowed a few more words on this oriental accoutrement. It is not perhaps remarkable that in the *Life* of St Theodore of Sykeon (the scene takes place on the gulf of Nicomedia) we should meet a cleric wearing a turban (*phakiolion*): the man was returning from the bath and probably wished to keep his head dry.[7] It is more interesting to note that in the so-called *Narratio de S. Sophia,* a popular text of the eighth or ninth century, we are told that when Justinian went out to inspect the construction of his cathedral, he wore a light turban (*soudarion amydron*) on his head.[8] I do not imagine that the historical Justinian ever covered his head in such fashion; yet a medieval Byzantine author evidently thought that this was suitable

6. See now A. Grabar and M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid* (Venice, 1979); and for the date, N.G. Wilson, "The Madrid Scylitzes", *Scrittura e Civiltà,* 2 (1978), 209-19.
7. *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn,* 157.54, ed. A.-J. Festugière, I (Brussels, 1970), 131.
8. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum,* ed. Th. Preger, I (Leipzig, 1901), 85.

headgear for an emperor in casual attire. In the same text[9] there is a legendary story about the architect of St Sophia, mistakenly called Ignatius, who is left to starve on top of Justinian's monumental pillar. What then does he do? He cuts to ribbons his outer garment, his combination hose-cum-shirt (*hypokamisobrakion*), his cummerbund (*sphiktourion*) and his turban (*phakiolion*), ties them together, and hauls up a stout rope which his wife had brought in the night. A visual illustration of a turban worn by an official is provided by the portrait of the *proximos* John in the Adrianople Gospels of 1007, who, though an Armenian, is surely represented in Byzantine costume.[10]

My second example concerns the use of prayer rugs which are familiar to us in the Moslem world, but which we do not normally associate with Orthodox observance. Yet we read in the *Life* of Theophanes Confessor[11] that the future chronicler, when travelling in the country, slept on his prayer rug (τάπητι ἐπευκτικῷ προσανεκλίθη) – this in about the year 780. In the *Life* of St Andrew the Fool, which I am inclined to date to ca. A.D. 700, we find that the saintly young man Epiphanios would get out of his bed and sleep on his prayer rug which was on the floor – the word is *epeuchion* which some manuscripts paraphrase by *tapes*.[12] The same term reappears in the Euchologion.[13] Furthermore, the rich Peloponnesian widow Danielis, when she visited the court of Basil I, took the interior measurements of the New Church in the palace and caused to be made big carpets, τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχῆς τὸ ἐπώνυμον φέροντας – "called among us by the name of prayer", i.e., once again *epeuchia*, – whereby the entire floor of the church was to be covered.[14] In other words, the New Church and surely other churches, too, were carpeted like mosques. This is an indication that archaeologists, I believe, have not taken into account.

In quoting these examples I was not trying to prove that the Byzantines dressed and behaved like Arabs. My intention was merely to indicate the kind of detail that we can occasionally extract from our sources. We are still a long way from being able to visualize Byzantine life as it was actually lived and, in order to do so, we shall have to rely on both archaeological and written evidence. It is safe, however, to predict that this picture, as it is gradually built up, will differ very sharply from that of Graeco-Roman life which we know so much better.

If lowbrow Byzantine literature brings us into closer contact with reality than the stilted compositions of the educated élite, it also, I believe, gives us a much clearer conception of the average Byzantine's intellectual horizons. Chronicles, Lives of saints, stories about anchorites, various florilegia of useful sayings, oracles

9. *Ibid.*, II (1907), 285.
10. Reproduced, e.g., by N. Adontz, *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), facing p.162.
11. *Methodii Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris*, 17, ed. V.V. Latyšev, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Russie*, VIII[e] sér., Cl. hist. – philol., 13/4 (Petrograd, 1918), 12.
12. PG, 111, col. 705A.
13. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum* (Paris, 1647), 832.
14. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 319.

– that was the kind of literature that really circulated next, of course, to patristic, liturgical and devotional books. To dismiss this literature as monkish, as if its readership was confined to monks, while laymen read secular literature, shows a complete ignorance of the situation. Of course, monks read it, but everyone else who was capable of reading read it, too, and, for the most part, read nothing else – barring again the Bible and the Fathers. I should like, therefore, to insist on the view that the conceptual world of Byzantium can most fully be appreciated only on the basis of lowbrow literature.

This literature, too, was very traditional and one looks in vain for the propagation in it of any new ideas. People did not read books for ideas, but for edification and information. What interests us, however, in the present context is that lowbrow Byzantine literature stands at several removes from the classical tradition, and what classical lore it contains has been slanted in the Roman rather than in the Greek direction. Take the case of Kekaumenos who, for a military man, was exceptionally well read. In fact, he explicitly recommends the reading of books and was rich enough to own a few. We can tell at once that he knew best the Bible which he quotes more than a hundred times. He was also acquainted with Gregory of Nazianzus, John of Damascus and John Cassian (naturally in a Greek translation). Apart from works on military strategy and probably a number of florilegia, the only secular author he cites is Dio Cassius. He refers to Augustus, Hannibal, the younger Scipio and Trajan, but not to a single figure or event of Greek history, not even Alexander.

I do not wish to insist on this one example, nor is there need to do so, since we know very well what the average Byzantine thought about his place in history and the tradition to which he belonged.[15] To find this out, we have only to open a universal chronicle – Malalas or George Synkellos or George the Monk or Symeon the Logothete – it does not matter which, since they all tell substantially the same story. In this story, which I do not propose to summarize here, the hellenic tradition plays a very minor part. The Olympian gods are tacked on to Nimrod in chapter 10 of Genesis and – what is especially interesting – they lose all connection with Greece. Kronos is represented as king of Assyria and Persia, while his son Zeus, also called Pikos, is the ruler of Italy. Ares is an Assyrian, Perseus a Persian, while Hermes and Hephaistos are associated with Egypt. The Trojan War, if it appears at all, is seen not through the eyes of Homer, but through the romanticized version of Dictys Cretensis. Of classical Greece, the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, not a word is said. Alexander is, of course, given some prominence, but he is represented as half-Egyptian, being the son of the magician Nectanebo, and his most significant deeds are his visit to Jerusalem, where he worshipped the true God, and his journey to India, where he discovered the virtuous Brahmans. The Hellenistic kings are dismissed in a few pages and shown in a very unfavourable light, since they were

15. I have discussed this at greater length in *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 189 ff; see now also E.M. Jeffreys, "The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers towards Ancient History", *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 199-238.

responsible for the second and third sack of Jerusalem, and for setting up in the Temple "the abomination of Desolation". This is as much as we are told of Greek history.

Not only has the hellenic tradition been limited in the chronicles; it has also been deliberately downgraded. We are repeatedly informed that the Hellenes were merely plagiarizers in the domain of arts and sciences. Geometry was invented by the Egyptians, astrology by the Chaldaeans and the Babylonians, magic and sorcery by the Persians, the art of writing by the Phoenicians. Moses, in particular, was the teacher of all wise men and, since he lived well before the Trojan War, indeed before the time of Zeus, his priority as a cosmologist could not be questioned. As for the Greek physicians, they cribbed their writings from Solomon's lost works on natural science. Even in the sphere of language and literature the Greeks are put in their place. Their loquacity, we are told, is surpassed by the conciseness of the Persians whose language is rich in proverbs and riddles. The Ishmaelites, who know nothing of Greek culture, are nevertheless very clever and can discern truth from falsehood. As for Latin, those who know that tongue affirm that it is more forceful than Greek and capable of profounder and more concise formulations. Besides, it was said on good authority that the Romans, too, had their poets, their prose writers and their orators. This downgrading of all things Greek had, of course, a long history behind it, and can be traced through Theodoret to the Jewish apologists, in particular Josephus who was much read in Byzantium. What interests us here is that it was retained and given considerable prominence in the chronicles.

The average Byzantine, then, did not feel any kinship with the ancient Greeks. He was more conscious of the history of Rome, especially from Augustus onwards, since that was the history of his own Empire. But, in a deeper sense, he was concerned not with this or that nation, but with the fate of the Chosen People, i.e. first the Jews and then the Christians. The nodal points of his historical scheme were the Creation, the Flood, Abraham, Moses, the Incarnation of Christ.

If it were true that in the later Middle Ages the Byzantine public at large became more conscious of its Greek origins – a view expressed in most textbooks –, it would be reasonable to look for some indication of this in the universal chronicles. I should like, therefore, to glance briefly at the *Biblion Historikon* ascribed to Dorotheos of Monemvasia. Compiled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, it went through a great number of printed editions until about 1800. Its importance in shaping the consciousness of the Greek people is not in doubt. It was also, to all intents and purposes, the only book of history that was read at the time by a sizeable proportion of the Greeks. It should be understood that the *Biblion Historikon* is not simply a carbon copy of a Byzantine chronicle: some material has been eliminated and a great deal has been added. The new elements, such as the detailed description of the pilgrimage sites of Palestine, the account of the marvels invented by the emperor Leo the Wise, the excursus on the origin of the Turks, on the conquest of the Morea by the Franks and the history of Venice – all of these were clearly of interest to the public. What, then, do we find about ancient Greece?

Surprisingly enough, the *Biblion Historikon* has even less to say on this topic than the ninth-century chronicle by George the Monk. The story of the Olympian gods has been excised and, in fact, nothing whatever is said about the Greeks until we reach the establishment of the Macedonian kingdom. At this point we are informed in passing that Philip was contemporary with the teachers and poets of the Hellenes, namely Sophocles, Heracleitus, Euripides, Herodotus, Socrates, the great Pythagoras, Isocrates and Demosthenes. Alexander remains, however, the son of the Egyptian Nectanebo. There are a few pages about the Ptolemies, largely concerned with the translation of the Septuagint, and then, unexpectedly, the Trojan War is introduced. It has been placed at this juncture because it explains the beginnings of Rome as represented by Aeneas. The early history of Rome is briefly told, but once we reach Augustus, the narrative becomes more leisurely and proceeds without break. If we look at the chronological tables contained in the book, we find that the kings of Rome are numbered consecutively from Romulus to Constantine, and the emperors of Constantinople from Constantine to the Sultan Murat (in the edition of 1631). The *Biblion Historikon* does reflect a definite scheme of history, but it is a scheme in which ancient Greece plays practically no part.

When we move to the lowest stratum of Byzantine culture, that of the illiterate folk, we find ourselves with little to say. The field has been pre-empted by folklorists whose methods are a puzzle to the historian. It is not, of course, inconceivable that certain remnants of pagan beliefs and practices should in places have survived the conversion of the common people to Christianity and lived on for centuries, transformed and misunderstood, but to be convinced of the existence of such continuity, we need a chain of evidence that is simply not there. The assumption that Christian saints have stepped into the shoes of pagan gods, that St Demetrios has somehow replaced Demeter, that Elijah is Helios in disguise, and St Tychon Bacchus, is no longer as widely held today as it was at the turn of the century. The Bollandist fathers, who take their hagiography seriously, have helped to dispel some of these fantasies. We no longer believe that the festival of the Virgin Mary on Tenos, commemorating a miracle that occurred in 1821, has anything to do with Apollo on Delos;[16] and we are frankly incredulous when Sir William Ramsay informs us that Helios was his chariot has been turned into St George at Konya, merely on the evidence of his Turkish name Araba Yorgi, i.e. George of the cart.[17] For the rest, we have been offered a rag-bag of miscellaneous oddments mixed with a good deal of wishful thinking, such as the alleged cult of Aristotle at Stagira as reported by Sir John Mandeville (who never went to the East), the equally dubious cult of Plato at

16. See H. Delehaye in *AnalBoll*, 29 (1910), 463.
17. *The Cities of St Paul* (London, 1907), 378.
18. Probably to be connected with the representation of the pagan "philosophers". The same may apply to St Plato at Konya, on whom our information is very defective. See N.A. Bees, "Darstellungen altheidnischer Denker und Autoren in der Kirchenmalerei der Griechen", *BNJ*, 4 (1923), 120-1, 125.

Konya, the painting of the "prophet Achilles", said to have been in a church of the Troad in the thirteenth century,[18] and the representation of the pagan "philosophers" who prophesy the advent of Christ. As we probe each of these items, the evidence of continuity melts away. Take the case of the "philosophers" who appear in a number of late church decorations, mostly post-Byzantine.[19] They are arrayed in regal vestments of medieval cut, wear crowns or even turbans, and hold scrolls on which their respective prophecies are inscribed. It does not greatly matter in the present context when and where this iconographic scheme was first devised, but it is worth noting that it forms the illustration or pictorial equivalent of a theme of early Byzantine religious propaganda that circulated in tracts entitled "Oracles of the Pagan Gods", "Prophecies of the Seven Sages" and the like. The intention was to show that just as the Hebrew prophets had foretold the Incarnation of Christ, so a similar, if dimmer revelation had been granted to certain pagan sages and sibyls. It was also alleged that ancient inscriptions had been found in the ruins of temples in which Apollo or some other god predicted the triumph of Christianity or the Immaculate Conception. The earliest collection of such spurious oracles appears to have been made in the reign of the Emperor Zeno (474-91) and, as time went on, they became progressively debased. Plato was made to prophesy, "Christ will be born of the Virgin Mary, and I believe in Him"; while the "philosopher" Aristophanes proclaimed, "He shall give unto the people the baptism of repentance, and blessed is he who shall hear Him". These crude fabrications became the fare of the lowbrow Byzantine public for whom the name of Aristophanes was interchangeable with that of Pythagoras or Plutarch or even that of some entirely fictitious figure like Odoneristos or Dialed. Were not all of them famous pagans? Far from showing a survival of classical antiquity in the consciousness of the popular masses, the representation of the "philosophers" reveals the persistence of an apocryphal Christian tradition and the extent to which antiquity had lost all content among the half-educated.

I shall not dwell here on the modern Greek folk song. Even if some *tragoudia* are hypothetically traceable to the Middle Ages, they have no relevance to the subject under discussion.[20] Those interested in Byzantine popular culture would be better advised to investigate the late medieval magical texts that have been published in the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, in A. Delatte's *Anecdota atheniensia* and elsewhere. Magic was part and parcel of Byzantine life; it was also

19. There is an extensive bibliography on this topic. To the basic references given by R. Browning, *Greece – Ancient and Medieval*, n.45, add: C. Mango, "A Forged Inscription of the year 781", *ZVI*, 8/1 (1963), 205-7; I. Dujčev, "Die Begleitinschriften der Abbildungen heidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in Bačkovo und Arbanasi", *JÖBG*, 16 (1967), 203-9; G. Nandriş, *Christian Humanism in the Neo-Byzantine Mural-Painting of Eastern Europe* (Wiesbaden, 1970). The interpretations advanced by some scholars are entirely unwarranted.

20. Needless to say, popular songs have also been viewed in the light of classical survival. So e.g. S. Kyriakidis, *Hai historikai archai tes demodous neoellenikes poieseos* (Thessalonike, 1934).

inherently conservative. As has been pointed out by others there is a striking similarity between these grubby documents and magical papyri of a thousand years earlier. The lore they contain – the demonology and angelology, the prayers and invocations – seems, however, to owe much more to the Orient than to ancient Greece.

In attempting to make generalizations about a world as complex as that of Byzantium, we must use our historical judgment in regarding one strand more characteristic and influential than another. The enthusiasm of Psellos for Platonic speculation, the laudatory meaning of the word "Hellene" in the vocabulary of Anna Komnene, the admiration of ancient ruins by Theodore Doukas Laskaris – these and other oft-quoted examples are surely deserving of attention. They express attitudes that must have been shared by a number of people. But how great a number? When Plethon formulated his bizarre theories about regeneration through paganism, did he merely turn on the tap of perennial hellenism that was available to him because he was a Greek living in the Peloponnese? And what segment of public opinion did he represent?

Evidence that will help us to answer such questions is not entirely lacking. We can ascertain the number of manuscript copies in which various works are preserved. We can trace the influence of one author on another. We have some information about literary salons in the Comnene age. More importantly, we know what works were deemed worthy of translation – from Greek into Slavonic and, in the late Byzantine period, from highbrow Greek into demotic Greek. It is clear that the circulation of ideas was not the same in all periods of Byzantine history. Under the early Byzantine Empire education had not yet become the prerogative of a tiny clique: an author relatively as uncultivated as Cosmas Indicopleustes had access to the cosmological doctrines propounded by the academics of Alexandria. It is my impression that, after a long lull, ideas began to circulate once again, but not very widely, in the eleventh century when the literate public expanded somewhat as a result of urban revival. Many opuscules of Michael Psellos, like his *De omnifaria doctrina,* were *oeuvres de vulgarisation* addressed, in the first instance, to the court aristocracy. The philosophical teaching of Italos was publicly condemned in the *Synodikon,* whether his judges had any clear understanding of it or not.

Whatever allowance we make for such fluctuations, I persist in the belief that the true culture of Byzantium, i.e. the body of received doctrine and opinion that defined the outlook of a representative segment of the Byzantine public and filtered down to the ordinary folk was dominated, not by classical antiquity as we understand it, but by a construct of the Christian and Jewish apologists built up in the first five or six centuries A.D. This body of doctrine was very consistently worked out and its ingredients were mostly biblical with an admixture from other sources, both classical and oriental, but always subordinated to the teaching of the Bible. By giving a universal currency to this view of the world, Byzantium achieved a distinctive place in the history of thought.

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION IN BYZANTIUM

The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography

ROGER SCOTT

At the end of the scholia on Thucydides, there is a sixteen-line poem on Thucydides by the twelfth-century commentator Tzetzes.

TZETZES' FAREWELL TO THUCYDIDES

Thucydides, Athens had served you more fit
If they'd thrown both yourself and your book in the pit,
Instead of just banishing you into Thrace.

An historian's job's to recount what took place
In the passage of time, but you simply daze us
With wooden constructions and smoke-screen-like phrases.

For if I, the bold fellow inditing these rhymes,
I, Tzetzes (who've read many books on your times,
And knew all the matters you try to explain)
Have found the whole scheme of them lost from my brain
Thanks to your crooked clauses, you Zeus-stricken dolt,
You distorted remains of a swift thunderbolt –
Then what'll become of one less learned's a mystery!

Now hear the best method of writing a history:
Be grave and be clear, be persuasive and bland,
Be fierce when it's needed, and sometimes expand.[1]

Tzetzes' complaints about Thucydides are old and may well have been drawn from the criticisms made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first century. But it is tempting to take Tzetzes' final two lines of advice to Thucydides, on the qualities that his history ought to have contained, as a brief statement about the ideals of twelfth-century Byzantine historical writing. Most of it looks innocuous enough, but two words are of some interest: First *peistikos*, which Stanford translated as "persuasive" and the lexica seem to support this as against a meaning such as "trustworthy" or "reliable." "Persuasive" is a rather odd quality for a history and I

1. Translation (with text) by W.B. Stanford, "Tzetzes' farewell to Thucydides", *Greece and Rome*, 11 (1941-2), 40-1.

shall return to it later. The other word is *glukus,* which Stanford translated as "bland," but which has a rather more positive quality as "sweet" or "charming." Though this too may seem a rather odd quality in a history, Gyula Moravcsik, in his study on classicism in Byzantine historiography, has shown that it is a quality that the Byzantines demanded from history and that it too has a long history, going back at least to Lucian in the second century.[2] Moravcsik showed that this charm was given by the use of classical allusions and the imitation of classical passages, a point which has been reinforced by Herbert Hunger in his article "On the Imitation of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature".[3] Moravcsik and Hunger between them cover both the reasons why Byzantine historians imitated classical passages, their techniques in imitation and the problem of how this affected their reliability. To Hunger and Moravcsik we need only add Averil and Alan Cameron's study on the retention of a classical vocabulary by Christian writers, often with bizarre effects.[4] These three articles will suffice for most of the major questions, but there is still an important general question which has not been discussed, and that is whether the Byzantine historians continued the tradition of the classical Greek historians in their approach to their subject and in their methods and concept of history.

I shall argue in this paper that the Byzantine approach to the writing of history after the seventh century was fundamentally different from that of the classical Greek historians; that the distinctive features of Byzantine historiography had begun to develop even earlier; and that the imitation of classical writers is no more than a way of adorning the Byzantine tradition, or is at most an additional weapon which can be exploited to add subtlety to the interpretation of meaning, but which does not interfere with an independent Byzantine way of recording and interpreting the past. Such imitation will not then be evidence for a classical tradition in Byzantine historiography.

The classicist who begins to read Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* ought to be quickly aware of three simple facts. The first is Anna's claim that she has an excellent knowledge of the classics. The second is the presence of some of the more distinctive features of the classical historians, such as the carefully worked preface, the formal speeches, the learned digressions and the apparent stress on *tyche,* chance or fate, as an important factor in causation. The third fact is that Anna's history, despite her use of classical motifs, is still a different kind of history from that written by Thucydides or any other surviving classical historian.

I doubt if anyone will quarrel with my first two facts, but I will need to make a case for my third, that Anna's history is a different kind of work. I do not mean here simply that the *Alexiad* is written within a Christian framework. For although

2. G. Moravcsik, "Klassizismus in byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung", *Polychronion, Festchrift F. Dölger z. 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 366-77.
3. H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (*mimesis*) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *DOP,* 23-24 (1969-70), 15-38.
4. A.M. and A.D.E. Cameron, "Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire", *CQ,* 14 (1964), 316-28.

that is the most striking initial difference, it is not in my view the fundamental difference in terms of approach to the subject, at least in Anna's case. For though it would be going too far to equate the role of Christianity in Anna's work with that of *tyche* in, say, Thucydides or Polybius, it is still fair to claim that Anna does not often let Christianity interfere with her interpretation of events, but rather she uses the judgement of God as a way of reinforcing an interpretation which she will have already made in purely human terms. To this extent the presence of Christianity can be played down, though not excluded, in any attempt at pinpointing the difference between Anna's work and that of her classical predecessors.

The significant difference, I suggest, lies rather in the intrusion of the author's person into the subject, and this goes not only for Anna but for a number of Byzantine historians. The classical historian intrudes into his history only to give his qualifications for dealing with his subject and occasionally to mention his own experience where other evidence is lacking. But despite usually being a man of affairs, he does not have a personal stake in the subject-matter, or, if he does, it only comes in on the fringes of his work. Herodotus was recording the achievements of men in general and the conflict between Greece and Persia in particular. This did involve him in using his own observations from time to time, but at no stage can we say that the history is about Herodotus, his travels and his friends. Thucydides was certainly involved personally in the Peloponnesian war and recorded the events that led to his banishment, which in turn may well have coloured his presentation of one of the main protagonists, Cleon. But this only affects a few incidents and has nothing to do with his approach, apart from the fact that his banishment gave him the leisure for his task. This detachment is equally true of Xenophon, Polybius and the other Greek historians. The Byzantine historians stand in marked contrast. Anna writes to ensure that her father's achievements are recognised appropriately.[5] Likewise her husband, Bryennios, wrote his history partly to please his mother-in-law, Eirene, and partly because his feeling about his father-in-law, Alexios, was too deep for him "to pass over his deeds in silence so that they would perish in the abyss of forgetfulness".[6] Rather earlier, Michael Attaleiates explained that he did not wish to resemble the wicked servant who hid the Lord's talent, but hoped to be judged rather for preserving the memory of the emperor Botaneiates' valour and incomparable deeds and for impelling his readers to imitate them".[7] As Georgina Buckler generalized: "The Byzantine who began to write a history or a chronicle felt that he was entering on a solemn and exalted task, a duty owed to the dead and still more a service to be rendered to the living".[8] It is the duty owed to the living

5. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad,* Prooimion, II, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris, 1967), 4.
6. Nikephoros Bryennios, *Hyle Historias,* Prooimion, 11, ed. P. Gautier (CFHB, 9, Brussels, 1975), 73. This and the following passages are conveniently collected and discussed by G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena, A Study* (Oxford, 1929), 226-9, a work to which I am greatly indebted.
7. Michael Attaleiates, *Historia,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853), 322.
8. *Op.cit.*, 229.

that is given more emphasis, though rather less kindly, by N. Iorga's description of George Pachymeres' history as "worth just as much as the political accomplishments of his imperial master, the deplorable Andronicus II".[9] Pachymeres has since been strongly defended by Angeliki Laiou,[10] who, however, makes an even more telling judgement on the history of John Kantakouzenos as "an apologia for his imperial friend and for himself", adding that "very little else is allowed to intrude into Kantakouzenos' effort to convince posterity that right was on his side during the civil war". Laiou continues that "this biased account is balanced by the equally biased account of Gregoras, the supporter of Andronicus II, who wrote his history of the civil war from the viewpoint of Constantinople".

Now I need to make quite clear that I am not suggesting that Byzantine historians are biased and that classical historians are objective. I am certainly not competent to discuss the question of bias in Byzantine historians, and I do not consider classical historians to be by any means altogether objective. (I merely refer with approval to Virginia Hunter's recent book, *Thucydides, the Artful Reporter*, of which the concluding chapter is entitled, *The Least Objective Historian*).[11] Whether classical and Byzantine historians exhibit bias in their works is not my present concern. Rather I am concerned with the much simpler point of the kind of involvement the historian had with his subject matter. The classical historian traditionally had a rather detached approach to his general subject, even when it involved him personally. A number of Byzantine historians chose their subject just because it did concern them personally, and their object in writing was to ensure that their viewpoint was properly represented.

This personal concern is reflected in the emphasis given to the subject matter. The Byzantine histories, from the tenth century on, are often about an individual or a family, or at any rate the focus is on the individual or family. Certainly, in this period, the great dynastic families are becoming increasingly important, so it is right and proper that there should be emphasis on the family. But the Byzantine historians do not detach or distance themselves from their subject. They are talking about their own family or their own leader. So, in addition to the matter of personal involvement, the type of subject matter itself separates the Byzantine from the classical historian, where the emphasis is on the period rather than the individual. This is true for classical historians even in cases where the title might suggest a concern with the individual, such as Theopompus' *Philippica* and Arrian's *Alexander*. Theopompus' work only survives in fragments and in notices, but it is generally agreed that Philip simply provided the starting point for this prolific world history in fifty-eight books, or at most that Philip was the connecting theme

9. N. Iorga, "Médaillons d'histoire littéraire byzantine", *Byzantion*, 2 (1925), 291-2, trans. A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins, The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282-1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 345.

10. *Ibid.*, 345-50.

11. V. Hunter, *Thucydides the Artful Reporter* (Toronto, 1973). For a recent discussion see W.R. Connor, "A post-modernist Thucydides?", *CJ*, 73 (1977), 289-98.

in a series of extensive digressions. The full title of Arrian's work is the *Anabasis of Alexander,* which is in imitation of Xenophon's *Anabasis,* and, as with Xenophon's work, the emphasis is on the events, the *anabasis,* rather than on Xenophon or Alexander. So, though Alexander obviously looms large in Arrian's *Anabasis,* the subject matter is intended to be about the campaigns rather than the individual, whereas the Byzantine historians are concerned with preserving the memory of the individual rather than simply the period.

So the subject deals with an individual or family with whom the author is involved and whose fame the author feels ought to be recalled to memory. This is usually set out in the preface, a section of the work where Byzantine historians generally imitate their classical models most closely. This in fact helps us to see the difference more clearly. A feature of the classical preface which the Byzantine historian particularly stresses, is the need for truth, which is all very admirable. But the Byzantine "doth protest too much methinks". In fact the stress on the need for truth generally provides the Byzantine with his excuse for writing a history in the first place, namely to rewrite history. Whereas the classical historian limits his complaints to his predecessors' methods, the Byzantine frequently accuses his predecessors of distortion or of picking the wrong subject. Early epitomizers had "failed in accuracy", as Kedrenos puts it, "because each put forward his own subject, one for instance the praise of an emperor, one the blame of a patriarch, another the eulogy of a friend".[12] Gregoras' preface includes a diatribe against the wilful distortions of previous historians, which he puts in the mouth of his hero the emperor Andronikos II. His history aims to set things right and thus show the value of history.[13] Anna Komnene assures us that she would not betray truth under the guise of history.[14] Hence her need to do justice to the reputation of her father. Thus, for the Byzantine, truth is often linked with the promotion of his or her subject. So Attaleiates tells us that history is useful and that he feels bound to write so that "things worthy of record may not, through the passing of time, be buried in the depths of oblivion, but may have an undying memorial".[15] If he had not preceded this classical preface with a laudatory address to the emperor whose fame, as he finally admits, it was the object of his history to preserve, the difference from the classical historian might not have been so clear. Attaleiates is not merely offering a different kind of subject, the study of an individual, he is also presenting a case, the fame of that individual. The classical Greek historian on the other hand begins with the problem of recording and explaining the events over a period of

12. George Kedrenos, *Historiarum Compendium,* ed. I. Bekker, I (Bonn, 1838), 4-5, trans. Buckler, *op.cit.*, 228.

13. Gregoras' opening sentence also shows that he believed that the subject of previous histories was the lives of men and he also believed, probably as a result of misunderstanding Thucydides, that the study of history enabled its readers to predict the future. Likewise, Kedrenos, despite his complaints about others, still sees history as having a didactic purpose. His history is to be a guide.

14. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad,* XV.3.4, ed. Leib, III, 196.

15. Michael Attaleiates, *Historia,* ed. Bekker, 8, trans. Buckler, *op.cit.*, 227.

time. His explanation may well involve bias or careful selection or twisting of facts to fit a predetermined theory (such as the balance of nature in Herodotus or the cycle of constitutions in Polybius) but he does at least begin with the problem. But when the Byzantine links truth with the promotion of the fame of his subject and that subject is a person and his family, then he is seeing history in quite different terms. He begins with a ready interpretation, the fame of his subject, and his job is simply to persuade his audience that this is so. He may well tackle his subject honestly and the outcome, in terms of reliability, may well be as good or better than the classical historian. Anna's truthfulness and reliability have generally been strongly defended against the accusations of distortion. But there is a world of difference in approach between her and Thucydides. And although I am not yet convinced that Tzetzes, in his demand that a historian be *peistikos* really means "persuasive" rather than "convincing" or "reliable", we do not need Tzetzes to see that some of his contemporaries used history as a way of presenting a case and of promoting their family or leader.

I say "some of his contemporaries" because I cannot pretend that I could show that all Byzantine historians saw history as a kind of propaganda. So far as I can judge this would not be true of Kinnamos for instance. But then anyone who felt that Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia* was a model for a historian and who turned to Procopius for the arrangement of material (and Kinnamos did both these things), is not going to have a particularly strong case for being counted in the classical tradition of historiography. George Pachymeres in the fourteenth century may have a better claim, and his impartiality and reliability, as I have mentioned, have been championed convincingly by Angeliki Laiou. Pachymeres stated in traditional fashion that he was writing the history of his time for the benefit of future generations, and that he was sworn to truth and impartiality. "For truth . . . is the soul of history and he who prefers lies to the truth is sacrilegious".[16] But Pachymeres then emphasizes his concern for truth by stating that if there were truths which he could not reveal, he preferred to omit them rather than lie, "for it is better for posterity to be ignorant of something than to be wrongly informed". So Pachymeres, again with didactic purpose, wrote the truth and nothing but the truth, but certainly not the whole truth. We may note the distinction between Thucydides who omits matters because he cannot find out the truth, and Pachymeres whose omissions occur because he cannot tell the truth. Niketas Choniates likewise does not seem to be a propagandist for any individual or family. His didactic purpose was moral for he believed that it was right for history to attack vice and so aimed at writing the truth, and for this purpose argued that his language needed to be simple because he aimed at getting his message across to workmen, soldiers and women.[17] So, though

16. George Pachymeres, *Michael Palaeologus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 12, trans. Laiou, *op.cit.*, 346.
17. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.A. von Dieten (CFHB, 11.1, Berlin, 1975), 3.

here truth is associated with simple language, it is still seen in terms of persuasion, of presenting a case or message. But the oddest statement about truth comes from Anna Komnene. She complained that she had no written material about her father to work on except "worthless and altogether trifling compositions . . . (which are) simple in diction and artless and adhering to truth, not displaying any affectation or trailing along in rhetorical bombast".[18] That is, Anna associates truth with work that is considered worthless and trifling, whereas what she prefers is affectation. She does of course go on to point out that she is able to develop these truthful trifles into worthwhile true history, presumably by the addition of persuasive bombast.

I have shown that some of the major Byzantine historians of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries were doing something rather different from the ancient historians of classical times, despite their imitation of some of the characteristics of the classical tradition. The question that needs to be asked now is whether these differences simply reflect natural developments within a continuous classical tradition, or whether there is a clear break in the classical tradition and that these historians are part of a different Byzantine tradition to which a certain amount of classical imitation is encrusted. This necessarily involves a rapid cruise past some major landmarks of Byzantine historiography.

It would be rash to argue a virtually uninterrupted classical tradition in Greek historiography lasting from ancient times to the mid-sixth or early seventh century. For one thing, there is the notable gap of the entire fourth century A.D., which, one feels, really ought to have produced a worthwhile classical history in Greek. It did not. There does not seem to have been a classicizing historian of note, writing in Greek, between Dexippus at the end of the third century and Eunapius at the beginning of the fifth (neither of whose histories survive). But nonetheless the conservatism of the classical tradition is still in a healthy enough state in the time of Procopius, Agathias and Theophylact Simocatta. These three are still concerned with events rather than individuals, remain detached from their subject and, despite being Christians as Averil Cameron has shown,[19] cannot call a bishop a bishop or a church a church without apology for polluting a supposedly pure Attic diction with new-fangled Christian terminology.

But there are by now two important rival branches of historical writing: the ecclesiastical history and the Christian world chronicle. Their origins are best discussed by Momigliano who points out that ecclesiastical history is the fourth-century Christian answer to pagan political historiography, but that the Christian chronicle goes back even earlier.[20] He points out that well before the fourth century the church had developed its concept of the providential economy of history and of the

18. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, XIV.7.7, ed. Leib, III, 176.
19. Averil Cameron, "The Scepticism of Procopius", *Historia*, 15 (1966), 466-82.
20. A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.", *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano, (Oxford, 1963), 79-99, esp. 82-5.

unmistakable pattern of divine intervention in history; that Christian chronology was also a philosophy of history touching upon the essentials of the destiny of men, and that even for Eusebius chronology was something between an exact science and an instrument of propaganda. But the idea of Christian history as propaganda is best illustrated by a Latin history, the work of Augustine's pupil Orosius, which he entitled, with commendable clarity of purpose, *A History against the Pagans.* Recognition of the distinction in genre between pagan and ecclesiastical history is well illustrated by Procopius with his unfulfilled promise to write a separate ecclesiastical history and by Agathias who never mentions the fifth oecumenical council (arguably the major event of the period he covers) presumably as a subject not fit for proper history. But it is to the Christian world-chronicle that I want to draw particular attention.

It began in the third century with Julius Africanus but its earliest surviving example is John Malalas in the sixth century. These chronicles have the noble concept of history as the working out of God's plan for the world and therefore begin with Adam and continue down to the author's own lifetime. The grandeur of this concept is unfortunately rather destroyed in practice since the chroniclers manage to include vast amounts of trivia, presumably on the assumption that everything and anything must be relevant to man's destiny, although it would also seem that God's plan for mankind did not have room for democracies or republics, temporary aberrations, we must assume, of the distant past when presumably nothing of importance could have happened. The only memorable form of government for the chronicler, indeed probably the only comprehensible form, was monarchy such as existed at Byzantium. So, although it may not surprise a classicist that a Greek writer like Malalas could skip the entire Roman Republic, moving easily from the expulsion of the kings in 509 B.C. to the death of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., it may still come as a shock that a Byzantine Greek, who after all had a duty to preserve the classical Greek tradition, could also omit the entire fifth century B.C. and with it any reference to Athenian democracy. Instead Malalas chooses to tell us of the Athenian kings (who seem to include Solon, Thales of Miletus and Aeschylus) before moving to the court of Philip II of Macedon (where Malalas unhappily locates Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Socrates and Pythagoras).[21]

Passing by this rather unfashionable perspective on Greek civilization, the point I want to make is that Byzantine chronography is still history written with a purpose and plan, history that presents an argument, however mystifying it may be. It is history written to demonstrate the working out of God's plan for mankind. The importance of this is that it is the world-chronicle alone which emerges from the dark ages of the seventh and eighth centuries. For, unless I am mistaken, it is not only classical history that disappears after Theophylact Simocatta, but there is hardly a trace of further Greek ecclesiastical history. Instead at the beginning of the

21. John Malalas, *Chronographia,* ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 72.6-9 (Athenian kings); 161.5-10 (Philip's court).

ninth century, we have the chronicle of George Synkellos which goes from Adam to 283 A.D., and its continuation from 284 to 813 A.D., which has always been attributed to George's friend Theophanes, but which Cyril Mango has recently shown to be mainly, if not entirely, also the work of George.[22]

It takes some agility to work Theophanes into a paper on the classical tradition, since he manifestly does not belong. But the initial point I need to make about his chronicle is that, although Theophanes appears to be an unoriginal compiler who simply links together large passages taken verbatim from earlier sources, his chronicle still has a deliberate theme. It is still a kind of propaganda, presenting a clear view of God's purpose which, in Byzantine fashion, is seen in the relationship between the successive emperors' piety and the fortunes of the empire. That the arrangement of material was not made entirely without thought has been suggested recently by Čičurov, (whose work I know only from abstracts) and by Jenny Ferber,[23] who argues that for the reign of Heraclius, Theophanes deliberately rearranged the chronology so that Heraclius' career would fit a suitably schematic pattern of piety and success at war under the patronage of the Mother of God from 610 to 627/8 and of impiety leading to failure in battle between 628/9 and 641. To achieve this, Theophanes postdated Heraclius' monotheletism by at least a decade, telescoping all his heresy into the one year 628/9, as well as predating Heraclius' restoration of the True Cross to fit it into the period of piety and success. Similar patterns are, in my view, created by Theophanes for each of the earlier emperors through some careful editing of his sources. Sometimes, certainly, his editing is crude, so leaving a trail of inconsistencies and contradictions, and much of the patterning may be the work of his sources. But the credit for the consistency in presentation over a large number of reigns (at least from Diocletian in the third century to Heraclius in the seventh) must surely go to a single editor, be it George or Theophanes. The success or failure of each emperor is shown to depend on his piety, which is judged in terms of his respect for icons and relics, his support of the church, which is good and which is distinguished firmly, if tendentiously, from his interference in church affairs, which is bad, and so on.

The two points that I want to make here are, first, that Theophanes uses history as a form of persuasion, for history proves that piety is a prerequisite for success and vice-versa; and, second, that the unit of history is the reign of an individual emperor. For despite Theophanes' annalistic treatment and careful calculation for individual years, his interpretation of history relies considerably on treating the reign of an emperor as a complete unit, in fact the basic unit, which he judges as beneficial or otherwise for the empire.

22. C. Mango, "Who wrote the chronicle of Theophanes?", *ZVI*, 18 (1978), 9-17.
23. I.S. Čičurov, "Feofan – kompilator Feofilakta Simokatty", *Antičnaja drevnost'i srednie veka*, 10 (1973), 203-6; *idem*, "Feofan Ispovednik – kompilator Prokopija", *Viz Vrem*, 37 (1976), 62-73. J. Ferber, "Theophanes on Heraclius", *Byzantine Papers, Proceedings of the First Australian Conference for Byzantine Studies held in Canberra 17-19 May 1978 (Byzantina Australiensia*, 1, forthcoming).

My two points about Theophanes, that it is eristic history and treats individual reigns as the basic units, need to be remembered when we turn to Theophanes' successors of the mid-tenth century. For we are by now in a period of classical revival. "The Classical Background of the Scriptores Post Theophanem" is the title of an excellent study by Romilly Jenkins.[24] Jenkins stressed three main points. First, that this was the first time that history was seen in terms of the reign of an individual emperor instead of in longer eras. Second, that each individual reign was carefully judged and interpreted. Third, that the means to this presentation of the individual emperors was the careful study of three main genres of classical literature: biography, encomium and history.

Much the same points were made in another study by Jenkins entitled "Constantine VII's Portrait of Michael III".[25] Jenkins' articles are of course excellently documented and argued, so I need to draw attention now only to those parts where I am not entirely in agreement. First, I am suggesting that the study of the individual reign was already present in Theophanes' chronicle. Here Jenkins rejected Theophanes' emperors because they were mere puppets whereas the portraits by Theophanes Continuatus were real individuals. I would not disagree with this account of the difference, but the higher quality of writing in the Continuatus and the fact that each of the first five reigns is a complete and separate work seems to have led Jenkins to overlook Theophanes' earlier use of the individual reign as a unit of history.

My second query about Jenkins' discussion is his claim that the presentation of these reigns relies on classical history. His demonstration of the use of biography and encomium is certainly thoroughly convincing. There can now be no doubt that the authors of Theophanes Continuatus turned to Plutarch and to Isocrates for the organisation and arrangement of their material, drew on their classical masters for suitable models which could be adapted to their own subjects, and in particular developed their techniques in character portrayal from the study of Plutarch and Isocrates. My query is limited to Jenkins' claim about a similar reliance on the historian Polybius. However, Jenkins' actual analysis attributed a more limited role to Polybius. His influence was only discerned in "the Continuer's tentative efforts towards objectivity". And that, as Jenkins pointed out, meant only that the characters (as distinct from the reigns) of the sovereigns covered by the Continuer "receive a treatment which, though less objective than they deserve, is a good deal fairer than they could have received in any other epoch since antiquity". If that can be totally attributed to Polybius, about which I am not entirely convinced, and is the total effect of Polybius on the Continuer, then that influence is still rather limited.

24. R.J.H. Jenkins, "The Classical Background of the *Scriptores post Theophanem*", *DOP*, 8 (1954), 13-30, reprint *Studies on Byzantine History of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (London, 1970). Cf. P.J. Alexander, "Secular Biography at Byzantium", *Speculum* 15 (1940), 194-209.

25. R.J.H. Jenkins, "Constantine VII's portrait of Michael III", *Bull. Ac. R. Belg. Cl. Lettr.*, 34 (1948), 71-7, reprint *Studies on Byzantine History* (London, 1970).

For, as Jenkins also points out, "the reigns of the emperors who immediately preceded Basil I could not be represented as other than uniformly disastrous, because it was part of the imperial myth that Basil supervened to bring salvation after fifty years of uninterrupted decline". Though I accept Jenkins' point in his context, for the general historian this is still a somewhat limited advance in objectivity.

Now the valuable points that emerge from Jenkins' study – and they are extremely valuable – are that Byzantine historiography is still very much a kind of propaganda, that it is concerned with individual emperors, and that when Byzantine historiography begins to be influenced by a classical revival, the main source of that influence is not classical historiography but biography, if I may here combine biography and encomium. That is, Theophanes Continuatus not merely continues the historiographic tradition of Theophanes, but reinforces this during the classical revival by turning to biography rather than history for its inspiration. That the biographic trend continued in the eleventh century with Psellos' *Chronographia* can be most economically illustrated by the title of its Penguin translation "Fourteen Byzantine Rulers". And from Psellos we can return to Anna Komnene who herself lifted large chunks of Psellos verbatim for the *Alexiad*.

The point of my sprint through Byzantine historiography is to suggest that it has a distinct tradition quite separate from classical Greek historiography. It is a branch of propaganda or advertisement (even if it is honest advertisement) and takes as its main subject individual rulers. It may turn to the classics for help, but when it does so it turns to biography rather than history. But in Anna's *Alexiad*, the various distinctive features of classical historiography (the preface, the formal speeches and the learned digressions) are certainly present. As a result Georgina Buckler argued that Anna's "likenesses to (Thucydides) are both fundamental and superficial".[26] But Buckler also pointed out, with far greater authority than I can, that Anna "cannot be said to draw upon (Thucydides') facts to any appreciable extent, nor upon his vocabulary as much as she does in the case of the later historian Plutarch".[27] Buckler in fact does not give any convincing borrowings by Anna from Thucydides and points out that for incidents where Anna could have turned to Thucydides, she in fact uses Plutarch – the most telling instance being the account of Alexios' taking church property for his soldiers, for which Anna turned to Plutarch's version rather than Thucydides' of Pericles' stripping plate from statues of the goddess Athena for the war expenses. As Buckler states, Anna borrows frequently from Plutarch's vocabulary and "would appear to have carefully studied him".[28] It is perhaps also of interest to point out here that Tzetzes, with whose attack on Thucydides I began this paper, also owned a copy of Plutarch.[29]

26. Buckler, *op.cit.*, 205.
27. *Ibid.*, 206.
28. *Ibid.*, 489.
29. *Ibid.*, 206, note 2, citing Krumbacher, 526.

Now the point I am trying to make here is that Plutarch was of much greater importance to Anna than was Thucydides. I trust I have also shown that Anna's choice of subject and approach to it fits my suggested distinct Byzantine tradition. The apparent elements of classical historiography in Anna's work are, I suggest, best viewed as accretions to that tradition rather than as part of it. They do not affect the author's grasp of the subject. And perhaps had Anna known her Thucydides better, the elaborate speeches which she introduced into her narrative might not have been quite so wearisome. But with John Kantakouzenos in the fourteenth century, we do have, as Hunger has recently pointed out, a very conscious and competent imitator and adaptor of Thucydides, especially in his description of the plague but also in his accounts of the evils of civil war and of the revolution of the zealots in Thessalonike, which make good use of Thucydides' account of *stasis* on Kerkyra.[30] It may seem perverse to describe these imitations as accretions to a Byzantine tradition rather than as an integral part of the historiographic heritage which writers such as Anna and Kantakouzenos could draw upon. But to do that would obscure the important point that these Byzantine historians approach the subject in a quite different spirit from their classical predecessors. Kantakouzenos, like Anna, is still concerned with history as a means of advertising himself and his friends. He is still concerned with individual emperors rather than recording and understanding a period. His Thucydidean imitations are really part of this self-advertisement, another way of parading his own worth and distinction. However well Kantakouzenos adapts Thucydides to his own subject and society, Thucydides does not interfere with his understanding of what history is about. He may learn from Thucydides about how to handle particular episodes but this is a matter of literary technique rather than of historical outlook.

This is not to deny the importance of a more general interpretation of the classical tradition for the Byzantine historian. Educated Byzantine writers, such as Anna and Kantakouzenos, obviously did draw on their classical reading and made good use of their training in rhetoric. The studies by Moravcsik, Hunger and the Camerons, which I mentioned at the outset, provide ample testimony for that. But though their classical education separates the more sophisticated writers from the early world chroniclers, it does not obliterate their unacknowledged and probably unconscious acceptance of an approach to history which owed nothing to the Greek classics.

There is, however, still the Latin tradition which must at least be considered as a possible source of the Byzantines' biographic and propagandist or apologetic approach. For Latin historiography generally concentrates on the individual and is, despite Tacitus, by no means written *sine ira et studio.* Undoubtedly too the Byzantines were the heirs of a world in which one individual, the emperor, was dominant, which must inevitably be reflected in any history. However it is difficult

30. H. Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis", *JÖB*, 25 (1976), 181-193. Cf. T.S. Miller, "The Plague in John VI Cantacuzenos and Thucydides", *GRBS*, 17 (1976), 385-95.

to find a point of contact between the Byzantine writers and the Latin tradition. Cassius Dio, who certainly knew his Roman sources, was read through much of the Byzantine era. But although he was the best source used by the Byzantines for Roman history, he does not seem to have been used by the early world chroniclers, such as Malalas and the Paschal Chronicler, who remained abysmally ignorant of Roman history. And though the sixth-century classicizing historians were writing at a time when the emperor's dominance had long been established, they could still write history in the classical Greek manner where the emphasis, at least in intent, is on the events rather than on the individual emperor, and where the historian does not intrude much on his narrative. That is, the Byzantine tradition develops in writers who do not have any contact with the Latin tradition, while the classical Greek tradition survives several centuries of Roman emperors.

However I would like to end this paper by making three observations about Procopius, one of the last writers in the real classical tradition.

First, his preface to the Persian Wars. This, as has often been observed, is a farrago of Herodotus and Thucydides. And just as Thucydides had justified his subject as the greatest war by slighting the strength of armies in the Trojan war and later, so Procopius justifies the claims of the Justinianic wars by pointing to the improvement in armour. But from the vantage point of the sixth century A.D., his comparison is still only made with the armour of Homeric times. To add to this absurdity, Procopius, following Thucydides, sketches in a century of historical background to his main subject. But he does this by a series of highly enjoyable, if uninformative, Herodotean-like tales about the Persians. I would like to rescue Procopius from the charge of stupidity by suggesting that he is in fact playing a sophisticated game by poking fun at his classical models. His prologue makes highly enjoyable light reading, but is not meant to be taken too seriously. But this kind of game can only be played once. We are at the end of the tradition.

Second, as a prelude to the Vandal War, Procopius has a curious wise-adviser sequence. Justinian, eager to send an expedition against the Vandals, is advised against it by John of Cappadocia, who persuades him to abandon his plans. But then Justinian is visited by a bishop who tells him of a dream in which God assured Justinian of victory. Justinian, of course, now changes his mind once more and the Vandal expedition takes place. Procopius' model is the opening of Herodotus, *VII*, where Xerxes is dissuaded from his Greek campaigns by the wise adviser Artabanus, but is subsequently convinced of victory following two dreams which he believes were sent by God. Now, the wise-adviser theme is common enough in ancient historiography. But the adviser is always right, and the ruler who disregards the advice is wrong. Procopius may appear to have reversed it here. But Professor Hunger has pointed out the delight which a Byzantine audience took in catching classical allusions.[31] The Byzantine reader of Procopius, who knew his classical historians can hardly have failed to pick up the inference that, in Procopius' view,

31. Hunger, *"Mimesis"*, esp. 29-30.

the Vandal war was in fact ill-advised. Procopius uses the classical topos as a subtle way of masking his criticism of the emperor, even if it forced him to cast John of Cappadocia in the role of wise-adviser. The advice Procopius attributes to John here tallies with the criticisms Procopius himself makes in the *Secret History*, and it is notable that this is the only incident in *The Wars* where Procopius presents John without criticism.

Finally the *Secret History* itself. Unlike *The Wars*, which in proper classical fashion concentrate on the stated subject – the wars – and where the emperor is merely an important character and not the primary subject, the *Secret History* is more a Byzantine history. Although the *Secret History* still retains a classical preface, Procopius defines his subject here as being lives of people not events. In fact he explicitly contrasts his two works in these terms in the preface. *The Wars* is defined as "All that has befallen the Roman nation in its wars up to the present day". Of the *Secret History* he says "I turn however to a new endeavour which is fraught with difficulty . . . being concerned as it is with the lives lived (*bebiomenon*) by Justinian and Theodora". And at the end of the preface he reinforces this by stating, "I shall proceed to relate, first all the base deeds committed by Belisarius, and afterwards I shall disclose all the base deeds committed by Justinian and Theodora". The *Secret History* is biographic. It is surely also argumentative in presenting a case. It is interesting to note too that Procopius seems quite often to be countering the popular imperial propaganda that survives in Malalas rather than countering his own material from *The Wars*.[32] And Procopius' protestations that here at last he is writing the truth have not convinced everyone.

Procopius is neither the last historian to write in the classical tradition, nor yet the first in the Byzantine tradition, but he is remarkably close to both.

32. Cf. R.D. Scott, "Malalas and Justinian's Codification", *Byzantine Papers, Proceedings of the First Australian Conference for Byzantine Studies* (Byzantina Australiensia, 1, forthcoming).

The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter

MARGARET MULLETT

From the Byzantine period there are preserved upward of 150 major letter-collections: the total of extant letters could number somewhere around 15,000.[1] This figure is on the one hand daunting to the student; on the other it is evidence of the importance of the letter. It means that the Byzantines sedulously collected letters and treated them as literature of the highest rank. In few societies have letters risen above the status of a minor art form; letters were the supremely Byzantine prose genre and in many ways one of the Byzantines' greatest literary achievements. Unlike those on historiography and the epigram, this paper deals with a specifically Byzantine form of literature, which took on its definitive shape only in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and never afterwards lost popularity even into the Tourkokratia. I shall examine first this "definitive shape" over the whole span of the Byzantine empire from the fourth to the fifteenth century and second its changing nature insofar as this may be determined.

It may of course be objected first that the letter was an ancient genre and second that the Byzantine letter itself was overlaid, like all other kinds of Byzantine high-brow literature, with a classical veneer calculated to place the reader in an artificial classical world. Professor Mango in his more recent inaugural lecture described Byzantine literature as a distorting mirror,[2] and if we step through that mirror into the looking-glass land of Byzantine epistolography, it is true that what we find is a classical landscape. It is peopled with figures from classical mythology: the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, Icarus and Daedalus rubbing shoulders with the half-beasts from Plato's *Symposium,* Hermes, god of letter-writers, watching over Heracles, Perseus with his winged sandals, Orestes, Tantalus, Sisyphus; Plato sailing regularly off to Sicily, and Odysseus longing perennially for the smoke rising from his home. In this world it is always spring: doves and nightingales sing, and flowers burst into

1 No exhaustive survey of the Byzantine letter exists: there is no corpus of Byzantine letters or even a checklist. N. Tomadakes, *Byzantine Epistolographia,* 3rd ed. (Athens, 1969), 161-89 contains a "catalogue" of letter-writers arranged alphabetically. Hunger's treatment in *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,* I (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII.5.1, Munich, 1978) makes no attempt at quantification or even at a chronological survey, but has a very full bibliography. My figures are based on my own estimates from published collections of letters.

2. C. Mango, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror* (Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford, 1975).

bloom.[3] It is very reminiscent of the eleventh-century illuminations of the Paris manuscript of Nicander's *Theriaca,* where lightly sketched and lightly clad classical heroes trip delicately past a bucolic background.

Or let us use another comparison. It is a common *topos* of Byzantine letter-writers to disclaim any erudition. This boosts the ego of the recipient, makes it easy for the writer to praise his correspondent and excuses him meanwhile from any apparent infelicity of style or failure to present in the letter a perfect work of art. Manuel II in his fourteenth letter describes, untruthfully, his own educational disadvantages in these terms: "It is not easy for us to write even when we have the time, for we have not danced with rhetoricians in the gardens of the Muses".[4] "Dancing with rhetoricians in the gardens of the Muses": although used by Manuel of education, this is a useful phrase to apply to the Byzantine letter. It conveys the dream-like classical ambience, the ceremony of solemn dance and the strong impression of fun common in many letters; it places literary activity in a garden, so important to Byzantine literary mentality,[5] and it conveys the role of rhetoric so often emphasized at the symposium.[6]

But before assessing the reality of the looking-glass world of Byzantine epistolography, it would be best to return to a topic raised by that first objection to my claims for the Byzantine letter: What was in fact the nature of the Byzantine letter, what did it owe to its classical counterpart, and how did it differ from it?

It should first of all be pointed out that admirers of the Byzantine letter have until recently been very few. Even Professor Hunger, who has done so much to persuade us that Byzantine literature is worth reading, could find little to say on its behalf in his paper on the Byzantine literature of the Comnene period.[7] The impetus given to the study of the letter by Sykutres in the 1920s and by Monica Wagner in the 1940s did not last long.[8] Attacks on the letter however have not been lacking. It has been criticised for its rhetoric, its lack of concrete historical details, its difficulty, its triviality, its "fundamental dishonesty", its slavish

3. For the classic statement of this impression of the letter, see H. Hunger, "On the Imitation (*mimesis*) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *DOP,* 23-24 (1969-70), 28-9.

4. Manuel II Palaiologos, ep. 14, ed. G.T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus, Text, Translation and Notes* (DOT, 4 = CFHB, 8, Washington D.C., 1977), 37-9.

5. See most recently A.R. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: the Role of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance", *BMGS,* 5 (1979), 95-114.

6. See above, Kennedy and Hunger. For reasons of space and to avoid duplication, I do not here deal with this question of rhetorical theory and practice in the letter, though it well deserves further study.

7. H. Hunger, "Die byzantinische Literatur der Komnenenzeit. Versuch einer Neubewertung", *AnzWien, Phil-hist Kl,* 105 (1968), 59-76, especially 65 where charges of "Wirklichskeitferne und Blutleere" are not refuted; Professor Hunger's survey in the *Handbuch* in general avoids value judgements.

8. J. Sykutres, "Probleme der byzantinischen Epistolographie", *Third International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Athens, 1932), 295-310; "Epistolographie", RE, Suppl. 5, 185-220; M. Wagner, "A chapter in Byzantine Epistolography: the Letters of Theodoret of Cyrus", *DOP,* 4 (1948), 121.

adherence to classical models, its vacuity and its stereotyped responses. "In general then", wrote a recent critic, "Byzantine letters tend to be conventional and impersonal and, one might add, terribly boring".[9]

A Byzantine intellectual would have had little understanding for this kind of criticism. For him the letter was something supremely precious, rare and longed for. It was dew in a desert, a lantern in the dark, a lyre calming the spirit, the song of Orpheus or the temptation of the Sirens.[10] It was an emanation of the spirit, a mirror of the correspondent, the icon of the soul. It was honey, fragrant flowers, the first birds of spring. Gregory of Nazianzus claims that "Your letter is also a feast"; Hierotheos claims that "letters are a gift from God".[11] The letter was something that these writers received with great joy, kept under their pillows, listened to with avidity in literary circles, collected assiduously, demanded petulantly, composed with great care and seized every opportunity to dispatch. It was indeed a gift.[12]

With certain exceptions, the essence of the Byzantine letter like its parallels in the medieval West lies in its being "intimate and confidential and intended for publication"[13] and one might also add, for performance[14] – that is, we are dealing with real but literary letters. But the particular difficulty of modern scholars in dealing with them arises from a series of additional tensions. The letter was expected both to be abstract and to deal with details of everyday life, to be both ceremonial and personal, to be compressed and yet to deal with grand emotional issues. It is perhaps in the tension between form and subject-matter that the Byzantine letter is most distinctive.

9. Dennis, *op.cit.*, xix.

10. For a very few examples, see respectively Theophylact of Ochrid, Meurs XII, PG, 126, col. 377; Paulinus of Nola, *ep.* 45, ed. G. von Hartel (CSEL, 29, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig, 1894), 379; Gregory of Nazianzus, *ep.* 171, ed. P. Gallay (Paris, 1964), II, 60; Hierotheos monachos, see J. Darrouzès, "Un recueil épistolaire du XII^{e} siècle: Académie Roumaine, Cod. gr. 508", *REB*, 30 (1972), 224; Nikephoros Ouranos, *ep.* 19, ed. J. Darrouzes, *Epistoliers byzantins du X^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1960), 226; Hierotheos, *ep.* 186, see. Darrouzès, *art.cit.*, 326; Gregory of Nyssa, *ep.* 18, ed. G. Pasquali (Berlin, 1925), 56-8; Theodore of Kyzikos, *epp.* 4, 6, 16, ed. Darrouzès, *op.cit.*, 218-9, 225; Symeon Metaphrastes, *epp.* 25, 91 ed. Darrouzès, *op.cit.*, 114, 152; John Mauropous, *ep.* 1, ed. P. Lagarde, "Johannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt", *AbhGöttingen, phil-hist Kl*, 28 (1882), 51.

11. Gregory of Nazianzus, ep. 115, ed. Gallay, II. 9: Hierotheos, ep. 84, see Darrouzès, *art.cit.*, 216.

12. Cf. *Peri Hermeneias*, ed. W. Rhys Roberts, *Demetrius on Style* (Cambridge, 1902), 173.

13. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge, 1965), 13.

14. For indications of the oral performance of letters, see Synesius, ep. 101, ed. R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris, 1873), 187; Anonymus Londiniensis, ep. 105, ed. R. Browning and B. Laourdas, "To keimenon ton epistolon tou kodikos BM Add. 36749", Ἐπ. Ἑτ. Βυζ. Σπ.., 27 (1957), 206; Manuel II Palaiologos, ep. 9, ed. Dennis, 25. The continuity of *theatra* through the Dark Ages is not proven, but references to some kind of oral performance of works of art may be found in most periods of Byzantine history. For the importance of the *theatra*, see below, 87.

The letter was expected to be short; the idea of the *metron* of a letter was one of the most constant expectations of Byzantine letter-writers.[15] Examples abound of apologies for extra-long letters although the natural human desire to write and receive long letters sometimes got the better of the theory:

> I know very well the kind of letter you love to receive, for it is the same I myself would long for were I still at home. If it were you who were absent, I am certain that I would love to get the same kind of letter. People suffering from the same affliction need the very same remedy, that is lengthy letters full of lengthy reports.[16]

The letter was expected also to be restrained. Here is the Emperor Julian on his own letters:

> For I call the gods to witness; I have never written to you or to any other man a word which I am not willing to publish for all to see. I have always expressed myself with more dignity and reserve than one observes even on a sacred subject. I call the gods and goddesses to witness that I should not have resented it even if someone had published abroad all that I ever wrote to my wife.[17]

Ceremony was involved in the intricate exchange of compliments, abstract forms of address and superlatives which reflected precisely the relationship of status and intimacy between correspondents.[18]

The letter was also expected to be highly polished and much worked-over, not yielding its secrets to a superficial reading. The recipient was ready to spend some time on it, decoding and appreciating it for all its virtues, discussing it with his friends.

Decoration consisted in choosing a framework for the letter, which might typically progress from *prooimion* to the body of the letter and end with a pious wish for the recipient or which might take the form of a parable or series of interlocking quotations from the Bible or the classics. Imagery is suited to the correspondent; proverbs are particularly popular. The three great qualities of form were *syntomia, charis* and paradoxically *sapheneia,*[19] and the letter, like any Byzantine small object, was expected to be small and perfect and richly ornate.

15. For the theorists, see for example, *Peri Hermeneias,* 228, ed. Rhys Roberts, 174; Proclus the Platonist, ed. Hercher, *op.cit.,* 7; Gregory of Nazianzus, *ep.* 51, ed. Gallay I, 66. In practice, see for example Nicholas Mystikos, *ep.* 4, ed. R.J.H. Jenkins and L.G. Westerink (DOT, 2 = CFHB, 6, Washington D.C., 1973), 24-6; in the Palaiologan period it appears that a separate genre of "laconic" letters even shorter than the normal "attic" came again into vogue, see M. Treu, "Demetrios Chrysoloras und seine hundert Briefe", *BZ,* 20 (1911), 106-28.
16. Manuel II Palaiologos, *ep.* 18, ed. and trans. Dennis, 55.
17. Julian, *ep.* 20, ed. W.C. Wright (London, 1923), 100.
18. The pioneering work of H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsingfors, 1953) could be extended with profit into the Byzantine period proper.
19. Gregory of Nazianzus, *ep.* 51, ed. Gallay, I, 67.

Subject matter also had its limitations. The letter was not normally expected to be a treatise in epistolary form, nor to deal with complicated subjects or issues[20] which might diminish its *sapheneia.* Yet it was supposed to be a serious genre, and trivia were not thought to be really suitable.

> If a gnat-bite furnishes you with material for letters of outstanding form and polished beauty, what in Heaven's name would you have accomplished if you had taken hold of serious material which would of itself provide the starting-point for a letter-writer?[21]

In fact the subject-matter of the letter dealt with the great human issues of friendship, exile, sickness and death. The letter had been linked with friendship from a very early stage of its history: "La lettre", wrote Jean Darrouzès, 'c'est un genre essentiellement *philikos*".[22] Letters are full of friendly sentiment, of expressions of the abstract idea of friendship and about the relationship of the letter to friendship. Letters maintained or even created friendships; some letter-friends had never met. "A friendship without letters", wrote Leo of Synnada, "is a lamp without oil".[23] Much of the imagery used to express friendship is culled from very ancient sources: the Aristophanes myth in Plato's *Symposium,* the idea of an *allos ego,* the *unio mystica.* The Early Christian idea of friendship in Christ affected writers, and there is a very strong impression in many Byzantine writers of the author's appreciation of his friends as people as well as embodiments of ideas.[24]

The idea of separation stems naturally from the connexion of letters with friendship. Letters are the means of maintaining presence in absence, of carrying on a conversation at a distance, of conjuring up an illusion of presence. Letters in general in the medieval world manage to convey an overwhelming impression of isolation. Whether it is the Fathers of the Church or Boniface on his mission or the monastic letter-writers of the West or exile-writers in twelfth-century Byzantine provinces, these men are very lonely. They feel distances are very great, either between one another or between themselves and their homes; they are troubled by the consequences of their absence and the difficulties of communication figure largely in their thought and vocabulary. A literary *topos* was readily established, but the

20. The *Peri Hermeneias* specifically proscribes *sophismata kai physiologias,* 231, ed. Rhys Roberts, 174-6. The existence in Byzantium of epistolary treatises is of course undoubted; there seems a particular vogue for this form in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, e.g. Manuel II Palaiologos, ep. 67, *Epistolimaios pros ton Kabasilan,* ed. Dennis, 187-205; note also his epistolary discourses on the study of theology and dreams. For an extreme view of what might be considered a letter, see Treadgold, below, but certainly there was a wide range of subject matter available to the epistolographer. It is not uncommon for ekphraseis and other progymnasmata to be described in *lemmata* as letters.

21. Manuel II Palaiologos, ep. 50, ed. and trans. Dennis, 145.

22. Darrouzès, *op.cit.*, 48.

23. Leo of Synnada, ed. Darrouzès, *ibid.*, 137.

24. See G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et Cérémonial dans l'épistolographie Byzantine* (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 3, Uppsala, 1962), ch. 3B, 58-60; L. Dugas, *L'amitié antique d'après les moeurs populaires et les théories des philosophes* (Paris, 1894); P. Fabre, *S. Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris, 1949).

social reality was more important; ideas of exile and isolation found a place in the letter not only by literary convention, but because men were actually lonely. Because men were lonely, they wrote letters which could unite them: this is an important value of the letter.

> I approve the law of letters, most honoured Lord and equal-souled brother, and the function of a letter in speaking to those who are away from home.
>
> Your letter consoles us for separation by the sea's abyss and the mountain. Would that I could hurl it into the sea so that it could be transformed into a continent.[25]

In Byzantium, this emotion was channelled into stylised and antithetical expressions of loneliness: presence/absence, far/near, soul/body, separation/unity. More complicated concepts became intertwined with these: the letter as consolation, the letter as second best, the visit by letter or the winged visit. "For what is better than to move on the wings of a letter to you?"[26]

Further consequences of the idea of separation are connected with the concept of the letter as "icon of the soul",[27] which curiously entails a preoccupation with questions of sickness and health, for in order to build up a complete spiritual portrait of the correspondent the state of his health needed to be known. Sickness like friendship and separation appears to be built into the Byzantine letter.

> I have been wasted by constant and violent attacks of fever so that there now exists something even thinner than I was: a new and thinner version of myself. And besides all this, bouts of quartan ague have gone on for more than twenty turns. Now I do seem to be free from fever, but I am in such a feeble state that I am no stronger than a cobweb.[28]

Letter-writers felt an obligation to inform their correspondents of their state of health even when it was good.

> In all respects my bodily health is fairly good, and indeed my state of mind is no less satisfactory. I fancy there can be no better prelude than this to a letter sent by one friend to another.[29]

Death too figures largely in the Byzantine letter, though not as commonly as friendship, sickness or separation. There are many letters of condolence and the letter was itself often thought of as a consolation. At its best we may see a quality of personal immediacy unequalled in any of the other "death genres" of Byzantium. But letters about death may take many forms: death as a nuisance, the announcement of death,

25. Michael Psellos, *ep.* 45, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Scripta Minora,* II (Milan, 1941), 75; Hierotheos, *ep.* 27, see Darrouzès, *art.cit.*, 210.
26. Cf. Karlsson, *op.cit.*, 57.
27. *Peri Hermeneias,* 227, ed. Rhys Roberts, 1974; for the Byzantine treatment of the concept see Karlsson, *op.cit.*, 94-9 and A.R. Littlewood, "An 'Ikon of the soul': the Byzantine letter", *Visible Language,* 10 (1976), 197-226.
28. Basil of Caesarea, *ep.* 193, ed. and trans. R.J. Deferrari (London, 1930), III, 84.
29. Julian, *ep.* 72, ed. Wright, 234.

thanks for a *consolatio*, a mention in passing.[30] Very occasionally, the actual description of the moment of death may provide the framework for a controlled and moving account of a personal loss.[31]

Finally there is the consideration given in the letter to the question of communication itself. A letter may describe the moment of composition, the difficulties of obtaining bearers or the moment of opening a letter.

> When your letter reached me, these worries were dissipated like the shadows of dreams after waking. When I got it into my hands, I loosed the fastening and immediately looked at its length, just as the thirsty gaze at the size of the cup before drinking; then slowly dwelling on each syllable I read it, prolonging for myself the pleasure and desiring not to stop the cause of my pleasure until I was satisfied.[32]

Everyday, practical concerns were not beneath the notice of the Byzantine letter-writer and in this connexion it is important to clear up a misconception. It is often assumed that "the business of everyday life was not considered a suitable subject for literary treatment".[33] At its crudest the view is linked with what Karlsson calls the idea of abstraction or "deconcretisation": or as Schubart puts it, "the Byzantine letter lacks every single thing which normally characterises a letter".[34] The letter is seen as "an important rhetorical flourish which may contain no message at all or if it does, the message is couched in so obscure and allusive a form as to be nearly unintelligible". The real message, we are told, travelled with the bearer.[35] In fact there are many complaints from correspondents who have not received the letter along with the bearer, whose message normally complemented that of the letter. Both Ihor Ševčenko for the fourteenth century and more recently Louis Robert for the tenth have shown how much concrete detail may be found embedded in the letter if we will only emulate its original readers and gently pare away the different levels of meaning.[36] As for everyday life, St Basil had something to say about that:

> There is nothing to prevent my letters being as it were a daily record of my life recounting to your charity the happenings of each day. To me it brings

30. For death as a nuisance, see Basil, *ep.* 3, ed.and trans. Deferrari, I. 26-8; the announcement of death, Niketas Magistros, *ep.* 1, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros, Lettres d'un exilé* (Paris, 1973), 54-6; thanks for a consolatio, Michael Italikos, *ep.* 27, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1972), 182.

31. E.g. Theophylact of Ochrid, Meurs LXVIII, PG, 126, col. 488.

32. Symeon Metaphrastes, *ep.* 89, ed. Darrouzès, *op.cit.*, 150, trans. A.R. Littlewood.

33. Mango, *op.cit.*, 17.

34. Karlsson, *op.cit.*, 14; W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin, 1918), 212; R.J.H. Jenkins, "The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature", *DOP*, 17 (1963), 45.

35. For the *empsychos epistole* see for example Basil, *ep.* 205, ed. Deferrari, III, 174; for the concept of a double letter, living and lifeless, see Synesius, *ep.* 85, ed. Hercher, *op.cit.*, 691 which was probably more influential.

36. I. Ševčenko, "Nicolaus Cabasilas' correspondence and the treatment of Late Byzantine Literary Texts", *BZ*, 47 (1954), 41-59; L. Robert, "Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies; sur les lettres d'un metropolite de Phrygie au X^e siècle; philologie et réalités", *Journal des savants*, (1961), 97-166; (1962), 5-74.

> relief to communicate our affairs to you, and you, I know, are anxious about nothing so much as our affairs.[37]

And indeed Byzantine letters do contain references to everyday problems – politics, tax-collectors and petty sickness. What is notable is the way in which they are presented and here it is possible to speak of abstraction in the letter. For reasons of brevity, ceremonial and decoration, the letter is stripped down to the essential, namely the relationship between writer and recipient. Third persons are not normally included, and certainly not by name.[38] Elegant circumlocution is expected. Narrative is thought of as being outside the limits of the genre – Byzantines had a keen sense of genre – and was included, like ekphrasis, not where we might expect it, but only where its inclusion could help to decorate the letter. Thus we do not go to the Byzantine letter for a description of the battle of Manzikert, or for news of a correspondent's family, or for court gossip. Concentration on character-portrayal has the effect of drawing attention to the primary relationship; the Byzantines communicated in straight lines. This is what so infuriates the student of Byzantine history, who simply wishes to excerpt facts, for external facts are very marginal to the interests of the Byzantine letter-writer. The effect of the demands of subject-matter and form in the Byzantine letter is to create a uniquely compressed kind of writing where all the emphasis is upon character and emotion. The letter catches relationships at a single point in time and illumines entire mentalities, precisely because it focusses attention on the important, cuts out the unnecessary, and then decorates what remains to a high finish of brilliance. The Byzantine letter was above all a vehicle for emotion, and comes closest in Byzantine literature to what we often think of as a characteristic of lyric poetry, a powerful, but compressed emotional charge. With very few exceptions we do not find this in Byzantine verse; for the Middle Ages, epistolography, which distils emotion in frozen time, has taken the place of lyric poetry.

If we concentrate for a moment on the elements which went to make up the Byzantine letter rather than the fusion of form and content which makes it so distinctive, we find that many of them may be traced back into the classical period. The earliest preserved discussion of the nature of the letter is the digression in Demetrius' treatise on style, a work which we know was circulating among letter-writers in the Byzantine period. Here already we find many familiar details: the

37. Basil of Caesarea, *ep.* 231, ed. Deferrari, III, 358.

38. Exceptions are of course the bearer, especially in recommendatory letters, although he is not invariably named (he is in any case in some ways an integral part of the letter, or at least of the letter-exchange) and occasionally enemies of the writer, when his feelings of anger or outrage overcome his artistic impulse to shroud individuals in allusion. See for example, Theodore Daphnopates' mention of Belonas, *ep.* 39, ed. J. Darrouzès and L. Westerink (Paris, 1978), 225-6, Theophylact of Ochrid's complaints about Lazaros, esp. in Meurs 41, ed. P. Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire* (CFHB, 9, Brussels, 1975), 321-33; Michael Choniates on various officials and magnates, see J. Herrin, "Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government, Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205", *DOP*, 29 (1975), 253-84, but here again it is notable how many of his bêtes noires are either addressed direct or are known from works other than letters.

letter is described as a gift: "The letter is of its nature, and is sent as, a sort of gift"; as an icon of the soul, and as a "brief token of friendship". The writer legislates for brevity in letters and for a conversational style, and he reminds us that it is not only a certain style, but also certain topics which suit letters.[39] Already the basic guidelines of the Byzantine letter have been drawn. From the earliest papyrus letters, the concern for the health of the correspondent is apparent in the *formula valetudinis,* which becomes very familiar to us in the form in which Cicero used it.[40] Cicero, who seems to have been conversant with some form of Greek letter-theory, also shows clear recognition of the close link between the letter and friendship and of the opposition between presence and absence: the letter, he declared, was the *amicorum colloquium absentium.* He emphasised the elements of colloquialism and fun, and compared a letter to "seeing with the mind".[41] In Ovid's epistolary and quasi-epistolary poems, the ideas of spiritual presence and of speaking through the letter seem to be quite normal, and we see also the motif of the flight of the letter as well as the letter as consolation which was able *aspera fata levare.*[42] Seneca, who of course shows few signs of letter-theory in general, does make it clear that the letter was capable of making correspondents one, and of presenting the *vera amici absentis vestigia.*[43] A handbook of letter-writing which goes under the title of *Typoi Epistolikoi* and which is to be dated to around the beginning of the Christian era, was already starting to develop ideas of the body-soul opposition in treating the theme of distance, and St Paul's epistles also show early occurrences of the oppositions body/soul and absent/present.[44] By the second century A.D., as the researches of Koskenniemi and Thraede together with the New Testament studies of Roller have shown, many distinctively Byzantine forms were being used in papyrus letters: the sense of spatial separation, the plea for a letter, the complaint when letters have not been received (*pollakis soi egrapsa*), *pothos* for a letter and the joy of receiving are all to be found.[45] It is at this time too that formulas which had been in operation in the Greek letter from Ptolemaic times finally begin to release their hold. The old egalitarian forms of greeting gave

39. *Peri Hermeneias,* ed. Rhys Roberts, 172-4.
40. See F. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri* (Chicago, 1976), 103-112.
41. Cicero, *Ad Att.* 5.5.1; 7.5.4; 6.5.4.; 9.4.1.; 8.14.1; 9.10.1; 12.5.3, *Ad Fam.* 15.19.1; 16.16.2; 12.30.1; 5.13.5; 3.11.2; 15.16. 1-2; 2.9.1.
42. Ovid, *Ex Ponto,* 3.6. Presence: *Tristia,* 4.3; *Ex Ponto,* 3.5; 2.20; 3.4; 2.11. Consolation: *Ex Ponto,* 1.6; 3.6; 1.3. Conversation: *Tristia,* 4.4; *Ex Ponto,* 1.2.
43. Seneca, *ep.* I.40.
44. "Demetrius", *Typoi Epistolikoi,* ed. V. Weichert (Leipzig, 1910), 3, under the heading of *philikos;* St Paul, I Thess, 2.17; I Cor, 5.3; Col, 2.5.
45. On the appearance of "Byzantine features", see H. Koskenniemi, *Studie zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, 102, Helsinki, 1956), 64-5 (*pollakis soi egrapsa*) 70-2 (requests); K. Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik* (Zetemata, 48, Munich, 1970), 77-81; 95-106; O. Roller, *Das Formular der paulinischer Briefe* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, 4, Folge 6, Stuttgart, 1933), 34-46; 23-33.

way to the highly elaborate gradations of Byzantine ceremonial, and the *formula valetudinis* loses its appeal, perhaps because it was so hackneyed.[46]

It might perhaps be argued that the Byzantines were simply following ancient practice. But it can equally well be argued that this is not so, for the ancient letter never, so far as we know, arrived at the peculiarly Byzantine combination of all these elements in practice. It is in fact rather difficult to form an impression of the ancient letter: for the earliest period we are forced to excerpt letters from historiography and tragedy and to cull them from epigraphy, but even when letter collections do survive, there seems too little in common between the Hellenistic royal correspondence, the fake letters of important persons or the philosophical epistles of Plato or Epicurus to speak of "the ancient letter".[47] There seems little extant evidence for the practical application in Greek letter-writing of the rich theoretical literature about the letter current in the first century A.D., however inherently unlikely this is. The Latin letter shows an equally disparate pattern. There seems very little in common between the fresh private letters of Cicero, the verse epistles of Horace, the ethical treatises of Seneca and the social comment of Pliny's letters. A great deal of discussion of Latin letters has centred significantly on the problem of whether they were real letters.[48] The Romans realised the potential of the letter as a literary form, but chose to write not real letters but to use the epistolary form for philosophy, literary criticism or mythological narrative. The Byzantine combination of a strictly controlled form with a real letter-situation was, so far as we know, not one which antiquity favoured. Even during the Second Sophistic, when letter-writing became a popular form of *Enthaltungsliteratur* fictional letters were favoured.[49] The correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius first begins to look

46. See Koskenniemi, *op.cit.*, 134-5; 151-4 but see also 145-8, 150-1 for elements of continuity. By the fourth century at least the picture is clear.

47. See for example C.W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction", *AJPh*, 56 (1935), 28-44; M. Van Den Hart, "Studies in Early Greek Letter-writing", *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 2 (1949), 19-41; 183-53; C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (New Haven, 1934); on the full range surviving of the ancient letter see Sykutris, *RE*, s.v. Epistolographie. It should be borne in mind that the accident of survival *may* have deprived us not only of the bread and butter Byzantine letter equivalent to most papyrus letters but also of the ancient literary letter equivalent both to the Byzantine letter and to the ancient theoretical literature on the letter.

48. A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: a Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford, 1966), 11-8; D.A. Russell, "Letters to Lucilius", *Seneca*, ed. C.D.N. Costa (Birmingham, 1974), 77-9; M. Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford, 1976), 416-9; M. J. McGann, *Studies in Horace's First Book of Epistles* (Collection Latomus, 100, Brussels, 1969), 89-100.

49. On letters in the Second Sophistic see P. Reardon, *Courants Littéraires Grecs des II^e et III^e Siècles après J.C.* (Paris, 1971), 180-4; 197. The pastoral element, so strong in Alciphron and Aelian, disappeared after the sixth and seventh centuries apart from the topos of the *locus amoenus* or the occasional *ekphrasis*. Some characteristics may be more lasting; the ideas of friendship and *ta philika koina* which one meets in ancient writers may have influenced the passion for *philia* and human relationships – and gift exchange – which one meets in all Byzantine letters. On a more trivial level, the tastes of the Second Sophistic made easier the Byzantine fashion for set piece voyage descriptions.

forward to the Byzantine letter with their emphasis on the *metron* of the letter and their interminable discussion of illness. It was in the fourth century that the Byzantine letter took on its definitive form, though attempts by Thraede to show from correspondences in the writings of Ambrose, Synesius and the writer of a Late Antique theoretical work that their ideas on the letter have a common origin in the curricula of the schools may push this date a little further back.[50] Still it is in the writings of Libanius, the Emperor Julian and Synesius that we first see the full development of Byzantine letter-writing practice. It was at this time that such ideas as "union in the spirit", "in love united", "the letter as second best", the myth of the Platonic Aristophanes, the concept of the bearer as *empsychos epistole* and above all the statement of Synesius that the letter is a consolation to separated lovers giving them the illusion of presence were crystallised into a form in which they were used for centuries to come. It is surely the achievement of these writers and of the generation which followed them that they did for the real letter what ancient writers had done for the fictional epistle: its emotional force was realised, and a form was developed in which to contain it.[51]

But was this an unchanging Byzantine letter? Or did it develop? This question of development in the Byzantine letter has for a long time been associated with the question of the influence of the classics. As Cyril Mango has written,

> Byzantine literature was static, locked within the bounds of its inherited conventions. It was not meant to change with the times, but rather to maintain a constant relation to its models.[52]

Is this really true of the Byzantine letter? I should like in the rest of this paper to try to make out a limited case for development in Byzantine epistolography.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the contribution of the Christian letter-writers was added to what had been essentially a pagan creation in that movement of assimilation to which Professor Hunger refers,[53] and the three Cappadocian Fathers, together with John Chrysostom were subsequently regarded as classic examples of Byzantine letter-style. This was also a great period of letter-writing in the West: Augustine's letters have much in common with those of Basil or even Julian: Paulinus of Nola's letters express Late Antique views of friendship better than those of any other letter-writer. The end of this particular milieu, where exchange of letters was regarded as a valued and expected bond of an intellectual society which spanned the Mediterranean, may be seen in the letters of Cassiodorus and Sidonius Apollinaris, each in his own way coming to terms with a world of successor states to the Western Empire. In the East, the sixth century saw an Indian summer of the ancient form of the fictional letter in the works of Aristaenetus, Procopius of Gaza and finally Theophylact Simocatta – in the same literary circles, one would like to

50. Thraede, *op.cit.*, 180-5.

51. On all these topics see Karlsson, *op.cit.*, 21-62. On emotional force in the fictional letter see H. Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton, 1974), 337-8.

52. Mango, *op.cit.*, 16-7.

53. See above, 40ff.

think, which saw the last great production of epigrams and "Thucydidean" secular history.[54] The fictional letter would still provide amusement in the twelfth century and in the fourteenth,[55] but from now on the Byzantine letter was above all to be concerned with the real world.

The historical and literary problems of the late sixth and early seventh centuries are considered elsewhere in this volume: the "Dark Age" does appear to fall on letters as it did on historiography. The letters preserved from the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries are far more functional and far more political in content and tend to reflect (as far as the letter ever could in Byzantium) the vicissitudes of ecclesiastical crises, from the letters of Maximos the Confessor against monotheletism through the iconoclastic dispute to the Photian schism and the tetragamy. And the number of letter-collections for that period is low. Paul Alexander has shown recently that the social importance of the letter during Iconoclasm should not be underestimated;[56] Theodore of Stoudios' attempts to hold together his scattered party would have appeared a strange use of epistolography to the archaising fictional epistolographers of the sixth and early seventh centuries. But there were good parallels in Christian epistolography: to say nothing of St Paul, Theodoret of Cyrrhus' lengthy apologias, which we tend to forget among the wealth of his letters on friendship and letter-exchange, provide a model, as do the letters of John Chrysostom, for all letters from exile in the centuries to come.

But earlier ideas of the literary nature of the letter were not forgotten. Even during Iconoclasm, the collection of Ignatios of Nicaea in the first half of the ninth century shows an uncomfortable mixture of epistolographic commonplaces, which will reach their full development in the tenth century, and of concrete information on taxes and local administration, not yet wrapped up in the fantastic riddles of the late eleventh century.

The first signs of the end of the Dark Age come with the letters of Photios, although the polemic aspect of Byzantine letters continues well into the collection of Nicholas Mystikos and Arethas in the tenth century. The tenth century was however above all the period when the letter realised its potential. It is the period most and best studied of Byzantine epistolography so far, partly because of the surviving mass of material, but also because of the very clear picture which letters of this time give of the interrelationship of *topoi* in the letter and of the possible combi-

54. On the circles of the late sixth century see above, Scott, and below, Cameron, together with her *Collected Studies* (forthcoming).

55. See for example John Tzetzes, *epp.* 7, 9, 11, 12, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), 17-20; John Chortasmenos, *epp.* 30, 32, 33, ed. H. Hunger (Wiener byzantinische Studien, 7, Vienna, 1969), 180-4; none of these letters are fake. The conceit of Theodore Daphnopates, *ep.* 11 in the name of the emperor to Gregory the Theologian on the occasion of his translation may be noted here, while this whole collection alerts us to the fact that Byzantine letters however "real" may yet be written on behalf of another, as was also common in the medieval West.

56. P.J. Alexander, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: methods and justifications", *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 238-64.

nation of quotations and images. The formulations of the fourth and fifth centuries were taken out, the dust blown off them, and the letter shone out again as the icon of the soul, the illusion of presence, a consolation and medicine, the bringer of Spring and the song of the Sirens. We have letters from many of the major figures in the political events of the period, from generals, diplomats, bishops and important monastic figures; never is the social range of letter-writers so great. Yet reading the pages of Darrouzès' *Épistoliers* or Karlsson's *Cérémonial et Idéologie,* one is forced to wonder what else is there for the letter to do: the possibilities seem to have been exploited to the full.[57]

Developments in the eleventh century are hard to document. We have only the mangled collection of John Mauropous and the major ones of Michael Psellos and Theophylact of Ochrid, whose work in many ways represents both eleventh- and twelfth-century developments. In all collections we are impressed by the relationship to everyday life of the accepted form of the letter; the Sirens and nightingales still appear, but there are new preoccupations too. Small collections by Symeon the New Theologian, Michael Keroularios and Niketas Stethatos complete the puzzlingly modest total.

But from Theophylact the line is clear: it runs through his relatives the Tornikai to the Constantinopolitan generation of Theodore Prodromos, Michael Italikos and, the most artificial of all Middle Byzantine letter-writers, John Tzetzes, and on to the end of the century with the productions of Eustathios of Thessalonike, Euthymios Malakes and the Choniates brothers, who bring us through to the Latin conquest.

Any division at 1204 in literature is artificial, and particularly artificial in letters. There is very little difference between the epistolary worlds of Euthymios Malakes and Michael Choniates and those of Demetrios Chomatianos, John Apokaukos or even Michael Gabras. Palaiologan letter-writing deserves a separate study. The mass of surviving material is daunting: certainly as many letter-collections survive from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries as from the previous thousand years, and they are greatly varied in character. Many continue the themes of Middle Byzantine letter-writers; some show the effect of politics, but in all there is a lessening of the obscurity of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The letter appears to be more open and descriptive; those for example of Manuel II discuss both political events and details of literary *theatra,* which for earlier periods can only be pieced together from very little evidence. Theophylact described in passing the crossing by the First Crusade of the Balkan Peninsula in one laconic phrase: *he phrangike diabasis,* but Demetrios Kydones and Manuel II have between them left us a vivid impression of the effects of the 1347 plague in the capital.[58] Procopius of Caesarea in the sixth

57. On tenth-century letter-writing, besides the works by Darrouzès and Karlsson quoted above, an excellent treatment is A.R. Littlewood, "Byzantine Letter-writing in the Tenth Century", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* III, forthcoming.

58. Theophylact of Ochrid, Vat XI, PG, 126, col. 324; Demetrios Kydones, *ep.* 3, ed. G. Cammelli (Paris, 1930), 5-6, cf. *ep.* 50, ed. Cammelli, 129-30 and Manuel II's reply, *ep.* 21, ed. Dennis, 62.

century (though not Pliny) might have thought a letter a curious place to include such a description. *Ekphraseis* of places and cities all become more frequent in the letter together with the ever-popular descriptions of journeys. Without the letters of Gregory of Cyprus, Maximos Planoudes, Theodore Laskaris, Manuel Chrysoloras, Demetrios Kydones and his pupil Manuel II we should know much less both about the Late Byzantine period and about the possibilities of the Byzantine letter.

In all this great procession of letter-writers there is much which is common to them all and which does not appear to develop. A single recommendatory letter from the fourth century may appear to work over exactly the same possibilities as one from the fifteenth century, but differences appear when whole correspondences are considered and the relations between correspondences. What causes these differences? I would tentatively suggest two factors, one internal, the other external.

The first is the change in conditions of letter-exchange during the various periods of the empire and in the groups of letter-writers who produced them. This is clearly apparent in the treatment of the physical difficulties of letter-exchange, which we have seen to be a constant preoccupation of letter-writers. Demand for letters, the excusing of *siope* by the lack of worthy bearers, accounts of the loss of letters are a common factor throughout the Byzantine centuries. But there is a great deal of difference between the difficulty of communication in the fourth and fifth centuries and the freedom of movement enjoyed by cosmopolitan intellectuals in the fourteenth. From Synesius we have a strong impression of the seasonality of the letter, from Basil a clear view of the obstacles to sending letters, but for the contemporaries of Demetrios Kydones, the major difficulty seems to have been that of coping with prodigious travellers in the absence of a poste-restante system. "I came to Venice hoping to find you", wrote Kydones, "but I found you already set out for Cyprus".[59] Travel is undertaken very lightly. This does not imply a sense of restlessness: Nikephoros Gregoras had as strong a sense of loyalty to Heraclea in Pontos as Libanius had had to Antioch, but openness to Europe was basic to these travellers. When Kydones wrote

> I am furious with myself for not staying abroad and listening to my country's bad news from others, rather than returning and seeing and experiencing them myself,

it would have seemed strange to a twelfth-century Byzantine intellectual for whom life outside the capital was exile.[60] External conditions were reflected also in the undoubted increase of political material in letters and in the fusion between public and private in Palaiologan correspondence. Kydones or Gregoras will discuss current court intrigues, and Manuel describes his latest campaign, again something inconceivable to a Middle Byzantine letter-writer. The explanation here is perhaps that

59. Demetrios Kydones, *ep.* 49, ed. Cammelli, 125-9.

60. *Idem*, *ep.* 50, ed. Cammelli, 129-30. Judith Herrin points out to me that the letter-writers of the Palaiologan age in contrast to those of the twelfth century show lay as well as cosmopolitan interests and life-styles; yet the non-ecclesiastics of the twelfth century, like Gregory Antiochos, in general conform to the norm in interests and expression.

writers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a group[61] were often closer to events than their Comnene counterparts, isolated from the exercise of power by the "clan" of the emperor on the one hand and the "official class" on the other. Palaiologan letter-writers were bigger fish in a smaller pool, and this is reflected in their letters.

The other major factor in the changes which letters underwent in Byzantium, and to my mind the more important of the two is the question of taste and fashion, "rapid literary fads" as Alan Cameron called them.[62] Why for example when the idea of the letter as gift was so clearly accepted at all times in the Byzantine empire and when gifts were sent with letters as a matter of course, was there such a predominance of gifts of fish with Middle Byzantine letters? Perfume, icons, sheepskin coats, cheese, fruit, wine can all be attested also, but the dispatching of fish in all forms, dried, fresh, smoked, and in one famous example stale[63] over long distances in units of ten, twenty-five, one or two hundred seems to have been particularly appreciated at this time.

Recent reaction against the unfavourable view of the Byzantine letter has stressed the individuality of letter-writers, their opportunities for independence within the rules of the genre, their ability to create an "icon of the soul".[64] But it is equally important to see letters as the expression of the corporate mentality of the elite which was composed of all who were rhetorically educated at any one time. This group is of vital importance to the historian of any period, since it provides us with our narrative and our documentary sources. Reading their letters is the best way to observe the interactions of the members of this elite. We may look at literary relationships in any period and endeavour to draw connexions between writers; casual mentions, funeral orations, dedications and family links are all possibilities. But only letters can draw a diagram of acquaintanceship at any given period, and only letters can flesh this out by indicating the gradations of intimacy within such a group. By looking at the interlocking circles of letter-writers and by setting them in their social and educational background we can obtain a picture of the occupants of the ghostly *theatra* which Professor Hunger has taught us to see as being so important in the organisation of literary life in the Byzantine empire.[65] By reading their letters and by obtaining an overall view of the balance of subject matter we may gain an impression of their particular preoccupations and interests.

61. Here they should be differentiated from letter-writers under the Macedonian dynasty, such as Nicholas Mystikos, Theodore Daphnopates or Michael Psellos, who may themselves have been close to events but were not (in quite the same way) part of a nexus of politically involved individuals who were also letter-writers.
62. Alan Cameron, "The Rediscovery of the Hellenistic Epigram at Byzantium", *Abstracts of the Byzantine Studies Conference*, 3 (1977), 66.
63. John Tzetzes, *ep.* 39, ed. Leone, 56, see now J. Shepard, "Tzetzes' letters to Leo at Dristra", *ByzF*, 6 (1979), 191-201.
64. Littlewood, "Ikon of the Soul"; P. Karlin-Hayter, "Arethas, Choirosphaktes and the Saracen Vizir", *Byzantion*, 30 (1965), 155-67.
65. See for example, H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz, Vienna and Cologne, 1965), 341.

Let us take for example the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The tightly knit circles of this period had interests which they shared and which were quite specific to the period. One is the fascination with medicine which we may detect in the researches of Psellos and Symeon Seth, in Anna Komnene's detailed description of the death of her father and in the interest in founding medical institutions along with religious ones culminating in the great Pantokrator complex built by John II and Eirene. Sickness had always belonged in the Byzantine letter, but from the middle of the century letter-writers began to be more closely in contact with doctors, or indeed to practise themselves, to indulge in the exchange of medical writings among themselves, and to devote even more space in their letters to their illnesses. St Basil figures in a long list of epistolary hypochondriacs which stretches from Fronto to Chortasmenos,[66] but none expressed himself in such gruelling detail as Theophylact.[67] Letters are not the only genre to show evidence of this interest; the poems of Christopher of Mytilene and of Theodore Prodromos express equally this concern with disease and therapy.

A second preoccupation of the period was with rhetoric. By the 1080s the custom had been established of a regular speech to the emperor on January 6 and of appointing a special *maistor ton rhetoron* to do the job. There is also a vastly increased corpus of funerary genres surviving from the twelfth century, and there was an equal vogue for inaugural lectures, *prosphonetikoi logoi,* progymnasmata of all kinds, religious polemic delivered on special occasions, while the ekphrasis flourished. Theory continued the impetus begun in the tenth century in the form of commentaries on the rhetors of Late Antiquity, and the old debates between philosophy and rhetoric and between the old and new rhetorics were fought out anew.[68] Letters are one forum for these discussions; letters also show the stylistic influence of changing ideas about, for example, the subject of *asapheia* during the period. I believe that the new, permissive view of obscurity may be traced in the letter as it has been in the *basilikos logos*[69] and that the way it is described, *griphous plekein* is closely connected with the great popularity of riddle collections at this time, and perhaps also with the satire boom of the twelfth century and with a closing-in of rhetorical circles in general.

66. Note the discussion of the phenomenon in for example G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969), 71-5 and H. Hunger, "Allzumenschliches aus dem Privatleben eines Byzantiners: Tagebuchnotizien des Hypochonders Johannes. Chortasmenos", *Polychronion=Festchrift F. Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), 251 where parallels are drawn between Chortasmenos, Theodore Prodromos and Aelius Aristides without weighing the exact balance of literary and medical influences.
67. Notably in Theophylact of Ochrid, Vat VIII, PG, 126, col. 321; Meurs LV, *ibid.*, col. 472.
68. A. Garzya, "Literarische und rhetorische Polemiken der Komnenenzeit", *BS,* 34 (1973), 1-14.
69. J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et symbolique: l'obscurité dans les discours à l'empereur aux XI^{e} -XII siècles", communication to the Fifteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, for a copy of which I must thank the author. On the development of the concept of *asapheia* in general, see G.L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Analekta Blatadon, 17, Thessalonike, 1973), 63-100.

A third major preoccupation of eleventh- and twelfth-century letter-writers was with the theme of exile. Letters from exile had been common from the early days of the church, particularly because of the influence of St John Chrysostom, and enjoyed a particular vogue for example in the tenth century.[70] But it was above all in the second half of the eleventh century that the letter-writers came to be obsessed with the theme of exile. Some letters from genuine exiles like Nikephoros Basilakes are extant, but many of these twelfth-century exile letters are written in fact from secure episcopal seats, the reward of long years' teaching in the patriarchal hierarchy in Constantinople. These writers reacted to their situation in a remarkably uniform way, maintaining their links with The City by means of letters in terms which their friends would immediately understand – *aeiphygia, apodemia* and particularly *barbarismos.* "I have turned", wrote Theophylact of Ochrid, "into a barbarian here in Ochrid".[71] What these writers missed was not the healthy sea breezes of the Bosphoros but the Constantinople which by the middle of the eleventh century had become the only centre for the learned society of *litterati.* This preoccupation with exile on the part of writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which is quite unequalled in intensity at any other period, has social rather than literary origins. Certainly the praise of the city of Constantinople was a popular theme in the rhetorical productions of the day, but this is surely a reflection of the influx of big families from the provinces which had made Constantinople the only *ophthalmos kai kardia tes ges* as Mme Ahrweiler has recently pointed out.[72] Certainly the literary influence of John Mauropous who writes dismally from his see at Euchaita and of Theophylact who cursed the Bulgars (in a totally traditional way) among whom he was posted may have had some effect, but it is above all the concentration of cultural identity upon Constantinople in the eleventh century and the creation of this small class of exile-bishops at precisely the same time that other bishops were lounging about, *scholazontes* in Constantinople as a result of the Seljuk invasions of Asia Minor from the 1080s and 1090s, which caused this preoccupation in our writers.

70. See for example the letters of Niketas Magistros and of Leo Choirosphaktes, ed. G. Kolias (Athens, 1939), Alexander of Nicaea and Theodore of Kyzikos, ed. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins,* 68-98; 317-41. The model of the power of the politico-religious exile is prominent in some, and the model of the *loss* of political power in alienation from the court in others, but only in a very few, notably Nikephoros Ouranos, *ep.* 47, ed. Darrouzès, 246 do we see that sense of exile from Constantinople as a place and as the focus of the interests of a circle which is overwhelming from ca. 1050 to ca. 1120.

71. Theophylact of Ochrid, Meurs XXI = Lami XXVI, PG, 126, cols. 396, 541; he uses the quotation in the second person, but applies its meaning to himself.

72. H. Ahrweiler, "La société byzantine au XI^{e} siècle", *IM,* 6 (1976), 99-124. On the exiles see J. Darrouzès, *Documents Inédits d'Ecclésiologie Byzantine* (AOC, 10, Paris, 1966), 38-53; V. Tiftixoglu, "Gruppenbildungen innerhalb des Konstantinopolitanischen Klerus während der Komnenenzeit", *BZ,* 62 (1969), 25-72; S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamicisation from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 194-216; R. Morris, *The Byzantine Church and the Land in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1978), 39-40.

Thus the particular interests of the Comnene intelligentsia may be crudely characterised under the headings of medicine, rhetoric and the tension between Constantinople and exile. One may fairly assume that Constantine Manasses' poem the so-called *Hodoiporikon*[73] was a smash-hit when it came out because it had everything: it purported to be the account of a journey from Constantinople to the Holy Land undertaken on the occasion of an embassy in the years 1160-2, but in fact the first book was taken up with leaving Constantinople, the second with the writer's illness in Palestine, the third with his convalescence in Cyprus and the last with his return to Constantinople, each book ending with elaborate praises of The City. Had it contained a few riddles as well it might have gone down even better.

The kind of group interest which I have tried to isolate for one period only of the Byzantine letter can also be seen at work in the field of the classical allusion. Let us narrow our focus even further and look at one letter-writer, Theophylact of Ochrid, whose letters date from the last decade of the eleventh century and the first decade of the twelfth. Theophylact uses only very few of the commonest epistolographic motifs from the classics. He isolates his classical quotations with the aim of lightening the emotional tone, whereas he masses his biblical quotations to produce an effect of deep gloom. In general classical quotations are used only to the inner circle of his acquaintance, the truly intellectual companions who were his friends, pupils and teaching colleagues. Quotations were a highly precious device to be disposed with discrimination, single jewels in rich settings rather than clusters.

They were also strictly relevant to his position. We have seen him use the quotation βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις (Eur. *Or.* 485) which although attested previously[74] came into high fashion among the exile-writers of the period,[75] but this is symptomatic of Theophylact's whole practice. Orestes, Heracles, Tantalus and Odysseus under Circe's spell are adduced when he feels oppressed; Plato sailing off to Sicily when he finds an administrator in whom he can trust.[76] He produces a menagerie of monsters under the guise of which he characterises his problems – Briareus, the Cyclops, the Hydra of Lerna, the Harpies, Polyphemus, Scylla and Charybdis and compares himself unfavourably to Heracles as a monster-slayer.[77] In all this various factors are at work. One seems

73. Ed. K. Horna, "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantinos Manasses", *BZ*, 13 (1904), 313-55.

74. E.g. Philetos Synadenos, *ep.* 7, ed. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins*, 254.

75. It was even used by John Tzetzes, who was very much based in Constantinople, *ep.* 13, ed. Leone, 71. *Barbarismos*, it should be stressed, was not thought of as being only possible from physical exile; thus Gregory Antiochos' description of the life of a civil servant as *agroikia*, epp. 15, 19, see J. Darrouzès, "Notices sur Grégoire Antiochos", *REB*, 20 (1962), 68-9.

76. Theophylact of Ochrid, *epp.* Meurs LIV, PG, 126, col. 472 (Orestes): Meurs XXX, *ibid.*, col. 425; Lami XXXII, *ibid.*, col. 556 (Heracles); Vat V, *ibid.*, col. 320; Meurs VIII, *ibid.*, col. 321 (Odysseus and Circe); Meurs XXI, *ibid.*, col. 396 (Tantalus); Vat XIV, *ibid.*, col. 333 (Plato).

77. See for example Meurs XVII, PG, 126, cols. 387-90 (lions, bears and snakes); Meurs XXX, *ibid.*, cols. 424-5; Lami XXXII, *ibid.*, col. 556 (Heracles and monster-killing); Meurs I, *ibid.*, col. 357; Meurs XLI, *ibid.*, col. 444 (Briareus).

to be an emotional need to externalise problems and to indulge in a kind of escapism. The ancient world did seem to him to be better than the one that he lived in, which he characterises as the *ponerai hemerai;*[78] he draws attention to the better weather his ancestors enjoyed, quotes several times Hesiod's use of the Golden Age and thinks back to the days when monsters were in truth slain. Second, from exile, he sought to reinforce the links between himself and his circle of friends by referring to their common past as a kind of password: the thing they all had in common was their school syllabus. It was in any case important to decorate and embellish the finished work, to intrigue and test the skill of the reader, but it was particularly important for an exiled member of the circle, striving to prove that he had not sunk entirely into *agraphia* or *barbarismos.* An encircling crowd of heroes, philosophers, sophists and gods was a consolation and a reassurance of perpetual entrée to the circles of the capital. Theophylact's use of the classics in his letters fulfilled a practical and emotional rather than a literary or scholarly purpose, and one which he had in common with many of his contemporaries.

We should not then imagine that Byzantine letter-writers felt oppressed by their knowledge of the classics. In a much quoted[79] passage in a letter to the metropolitan of Thessalonike, Manuel II, while asserting the superiority of classical authors, ridiculed the idea that nothing of value could be produced in his own time:

> What is more, if it could be made a law that because there are superior authors the inferior authors should remain silent, why then there should not be one person among the present generation who would dare open his mouth in view of the clear preeminence of the ancients. But this would be most unfortunate.[80]

No respectful standing on the shoulders of giants here, rather a joyful dancing with rhetoricians in the gardens of the Muses – a specifically and delightfully Byzantine activity.[81]

78. See Vat X, PG, 126, col. 324; Vat XVI, PG, 126, col. 337; Meurs IV, PG, 126, col. 364; Meurs VI, PG, 126, col. 368; Meurs XVII, PG, 126, col. 388 (twice); Meurs XIX, PG, 126, col. 393; Meurs XLIV, PG, 126, col. 460; Lami XXVII, PG, 126, col. 549; Lami XXIX, PG, 126, col. 393.

79. See for example R.J.H. Jenkins, "The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature", *DOP,* 17 (1963), 46.

80. Manuel II Palaiologos, *ep.* 52, ed. and trans. Dennis, *op.cit.,* 148-9. It should be pointed out that he saw his contemporaries' preeminence to be in theology rather than literature.

81. I should like to acknowledge the help I received from friends at the symposium after giving the paper and to thank especially Mr C.D.N. Costa, Prof A.R. Littlewood and Prof M.J. McGann for their comments on earlier drafts.

The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Ekphrasis

HENRY MAGUIRE

Because of their value as evidence for the reconstruction of lost monuments, descriptions of buildings and works of art are today the best known Byzantine examples of ekphrasis. But, as Hermogenes explained in his second-century handbook on the rhetorical exercises, an ekphrasis could also describe a person, an action, a time, a place, or a season.[1] These other types of ekphrasis are no less relevant to an understanding of Byzantine art, both with respect to iconography and to style. This paper shows how rhetorical descriptions of warfare, of torture, and of the season of spring came to influence the work of Byzantine artists.

In many cases the account offered by the Bible of a given event is very succinct. The massacre of the Innocents, for example, is related by Matthew in one sentence.[2] It was a natural temptation for a Christian preacher with a rhetorical education to elaborate upon Matthew's brief narrative for the benefit of his hearers, and turn it into a detailed description. But artists, also, were faced with the task of turning Matthew's narrative into a description. For when Matthew states simply that Herod ordered the massacre, he does not say who were the people who carried out the order, nor does he specify the method of execution which they employed. In imagining these details Byzantine artists were guided by descriptions already provided by the homilists and hymn writers of the church,[3] who had themselves been guided by the rhetoricians of the schools.

In his treatise on the rhetorical exercises, Hermogenes gives clear instructions for composing descriptions of human actions: the aspiring orator should divide his composition chronologically into three sections, describing first the prelude to the action, then the action itself, and finally its aftermath. Hermogenes explains how this triple division should be applied to a description of a war, "First we shall tell what happened before the war, the levying of troops, the expenditures, the fears; then the engagements, the slaughters, the deaths; then the trophy of victory, then the paeans of the victors, and the tears of the defeated and their bondage".[4] Ancient orators have left us examples of this type of description; Quintilian, for example, in the first century A.D., demonstrates how an orator can impart vividness to his

1. *Progymnasmata*, 10, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1913), 22, line 9f.
2. Matthew, II. 16.
3. See G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile* (Paris, 1916 and 1960), 158ff.
4. *Progymnasmata*, 10, *op.cit.*, 23, line 1ff.

speech by describing the capture of a town. In his illustration Quintilian leaves out the first of Hermogenes' stages, the prelude to the capture, but he gives a graphic account of the event itself and concludes with a description of its aftermath, the tears and bondage of the defeated citizens.[5] The Roman textbook *Ad Herennium* tells how, in the description of the capture, one should describe the blazing houses, the seizing of captives, and the children of whom "some are torn from their parents' laps, others slaughtered on their parents' bosom, and others violated at their parents' feet".[6]

If we turn to Christian literature, we find that one of the most influential of the Greek sermons on the massacre of the Innocents includes an extensive description of a war which is directly in the tradition of pagan rhetoric.[7] Its author, Basil, archbishop of Seleucia, wrote in the fifth century, but his sermon on the Innocents lived on in the later literature of the Byzantine church, for successive generations of Byzantine homilists imitated it and tried to emulate it. Collections of sermons which were assembled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries listed Basil's sermon as the reading for the feast day which commemorated the martyred infants.[8] As the textbook recommends, Basil divides his portrayal of the massacre into the three stages of prelude, action and aftermath. Although the three part division of the story may be implied in the Gospel, in elaborating the details of each of the stages Basil of Seleucia went far beyond the canonical text. His excuse for indulging in this rhetorical elaboration was mockery of Herod, who went through the whole procedure of a war in order to slay the defenceless infants of Bethlehem. Thus Basil first describes the preparations for the war, with Herod sitting in splendour on a golden throne studded with gems, under a proud awning and taking counsel with his advisors. Basil ironically tells us how Herod levied his troops, and even how the king gave a speech of exhortation to his generals before the campaign, reminding them of their former successes and asking them to "rush like lions upon the city". Then follows the second stage of the description, a long and bloody account of the slaughter of the children. Here the Gospel's single word "destroyed" becomes a long catalogue of cruelties, which was plainly inspired by classical descriptions of captured cities. The Christian writer, like Quintilian, describes how the mothers held their infants in their bosom, and how they struggled to keep them when the soldiers tore them away; so violent was the conflict that the children were dismembered. Like the author of the *Ad Herennium,* Basil relates that some of the Innocents were murdered in their parents' arms. He also tells us how the mothers fled with their offspring, and how some were smitten with fear as they gazed "at the flash of the sword". Finally, Basil reaches the aftermath of the war; in this stage of the description he follows Hermogenes' instructions in describing both the tears

5. *Institutio oratoria,* VIII.3.67ff.
6. *Ad Herennium,* IV.51.
7. *Oratio* XXXVII, *De Infantibus,* PG, 85, cols. 388-400.
8. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche,* pt. I, vol. II, fasc. 1 (Leipzig, 1937), 58 and 70.

shed by the bereaved mothers and the delusions of trophies and victory entertained by Herod. The depiction of the lament spares us no appalling detail which might add to the horror of the occasion; each mother tearfully collected together the sundered limbs of her child, searched for any part of the body that might be missing, and, having found it, kissed it. At last she placed the complete corpse in her bosom, and broke into vehement cries.

Basil of Seleucia's vivid portrayal of the massacre follows a pattern that became standard for Byzantine descriptions of this episode. In the sixth century, for example, the poet Romanos translated the conventional description from prose into verse, incorporating it into a hymn composed for the Feast of the Innocents. Like Basil of Seleucia, Romanos seems almost to delight in brutal detail: "⟨Herod⟩ gave chase to the mothers, and when he overtook them, he snatched their nestlings from their very arms like little sparrows . . . Some ⟨of the children⟩ were horrendously transfixed, . . . while others were dismembered. Others were decapitated as they sucked at their mothers' breasts . . ."[9]

The horrors were paraded again in a sermon by a south Italian preacher, Philagathos. This twelfth-century author composed his homilies in Greek, and was well aware of the Greek rhetorical tradition. His description of the murder of the Innocents echoes Basil of Seleucia's account in several details; however, Philagathos introduces a further refinement by describing first the massacre itself, and then a painting of it, so that he is able to present the horrific details to the hearer twice over. Philagathos claimed that he had himself seen the painting, which he says was painted on a panel. It depicted Herod ". . . sitting proudly on some high throne, giving sharp and savage looks with wide-open eyes . . . Stretching out his right hand, he seemed to be commanding the soldiers to harvest mercilessly the field of children. They, springing like wild beasts, pitilessly dismembered the wretched infants. The painter depicted the unhappy mothers given to a piteous lament and mixing tears with blood. And one tore her hair, another scraped her cheeks with her nails, another tore apart her robe, and baring her chest, showed her breast, deprived of the feeding baby. Another collected together the scattered limbs of her dismembered child; and another held her newly slain infant on her knees and bitterly wept".[10]

By the twelfth century many of the descriptive clichés of the homilies had been incorporated into the artistic tradition; artists no less than orators could develop an ekphrasis of the massacre of the Innocents. Here I propose to limit my discussion of the artistic tradition to a few works of art produced after the end of Iconoclasm. They represent a general development in the iconography of the massacre, which could be demonstrated more fully by a longer series of post-Iconoclastic examples if space permitted.

9. Romanos, *Kontakia,* XV. 10. 9f; 14, 3ff, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes,* II (SC, 110, Paris, 1965), 216 and 220.

10. *Homilia* XXIV, *In Sanctos Innocentes,* 9f., ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami, Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno,* I (Palermo, 1969), 159.

The surviving Byzantine portrayals of the massacre of the Innocents which were made in the century and a half after the end of Iconoclasm, in the second half of the ninth and in the tenth centuries, do not greatly expand upon the pre-Iconoclastic versions of the scene. We may take as an example a miniature in the illuminated manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris, which was produced in Constantinople for the Emperor Basil I, probably between 880 and 883.[11] Here we find Herod enthroned on the left, in front of two officials. With his right hand he commands a soldier with an upraised sword to slay a child. In the background another soldier with a spear is seen pursuing Elizabeth and John into a cave in a mountain. A striking contrast to this ninth-century illumination in Paris is produced by an eleventh-century miniature now preserved in Leningrad, which presents a much more elaborate portrayal of the massacre.[12] This miniature probably dates to the third quarter of the century; it adorns an isolated leaf which evidently once formed part of a commentary on St Matthew's Gospel. In the eleventh-century illumination the scene has been expanded so that it fills two registers. Above, Herod leans forward intently to watch three soldiers, one of whom dismembers a child with his sword. In the hills in the background a woman sits mourning, pulling at her hair with both hands. A tree, with a large bird's nest in its upper branches, recalls the simile used earlier by Romanos, " ⟨Herod⟩ snatched the nestlings from their arms like little sparrows". In the lower register we see Elizabeth on the left, fleeing from a soldier with a spear; on the right the artist has illustrated each of the successive stages of the mothers' lament as described by Basil of Seleucia. First a mother collects her dead child from the ground, then she holds the body against her bosom and kisses it. Finally, she places the corpse in her lap, and pulling her hair breaks into vehement cries.

In the visual arts the ekphrasis of the massacre of the Innocents reached its climax in the early fourteenth-century mosaic cycle of the Kariye Camii, in Constantinople. In this church the designer spread the description of the event over three lunettes in two successive bays of the southwest corner of the narthex. A fourth lunette contained the flight of Elizabeth.[13] Such an extensive portrayal of the massacre was completely unprecedented in Byzantine art, but its counterpart in literature had been created by the fifth century. At the Kariye Camii we find, for the first time in surviving Byzantine monuments, a clear division of the composition into the three chronological stages of the formal description – prelude, action and aftermath. The artist has depicted the prelude in the left half of the first lunette, where we see Herod instructing his troops, while in the right half we see the beginning of the action, the massacre itself. At the Kariye Camii the two stages are clearly separated from each other through a compositional device which, in this context,

11. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 510, fol. 137; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), 20, pl. 32.
12. Leningrad Public Library, MS. gr. 334; V.G. Pucko, *Viz Vrem*, 31 (1971), 121ff., figs. 2 and 4.
13. P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I (New York, 1966), 98ff.; *ibid.*, II, pls. 184-99.

appears to have been a recent innovation in Byzantine art. The division is achieved through the poses of the group of soldiers standing in the centre of the lunette; two soldiers on the left turn towards Herod, to receive his charge, but the soldier on the right turns away from the king and his retinue in order to proceed with the massacre.[14] In the right hand corner of the mosaic the artist began his description of the crimes, showing one soldier in fast pursuit after a woman who, in Basil's words, is "gazing at the flash of the sword", while another kills a child whose mother throws up her hands and turns away in horror. In the second lunette the artist continues his catalogue of cruelties; we are shown the children being suspended by their ankles for slaughter, being murdered in their mothers' arms, and, in the words of Romanos, being "horrendously transfixed" on spears. No less than nine soldiers are still visible in the lunette, even though a considerable portion of the mosaic has fallen away; this reiteration of different varieties of brutality is extremely reminiscent of the literary ekphrasis. The designer of the mosaics in the Kariye Camii devoted the whole of a third lunette to the last stage of the ekphrasis, the aftermath. Only the right half of this mosaic is preserved; it shows a group of mothers sitting huddled together as they mourn over the corpses of their children. One in the centre, raises her hand to her cheek in a conventional attitude of silent sorrow; at the same time she cradles the severed head of her child against her chest – an image which echoes the hymn by Romanos in its gruesome realism.

The greatly expanded description of the massacre which decorates the walls of the Kariye Camii can be compared to other fourteenth-century portrayals of the event which rival it in scope and variety of detail. In the church of the Brontocheion at Mistra, for example, a fresco of the massacre of the Innocents occupied a whole dome over the gallery which adjoins the south aisle of the church. The paintings portray Herod giving his command to one group of soldiers, while other soldiers turn away from the king to carry out his instructions. The massacre itself is portrayed in great detail, the various episodes of slaughter being presented against a cityscape, so that the scene gives the appearance of a captured town.[15] The motifs include a kneeling mother collecting the corpse of her infant from the ground. Finally, the fresco at the Brontocheion also depicts one of the mothers seated in lamentation, a theme which may have been amplified in the portion of the painting which has fallen away.

From this schematic survey of the iconography of the massacre of the Innocents in post-Iconoclastic Byzantine art, it is possible to identify three principal phases in the translation of the simple Gospel narrative into a full scale pictorial ekphrasis. The earliest phase is illustrated by the ninth-century Gregory manuscript in Paris; the second is represented by the eleventh-century paintings on the folio in Leningrad; the culminating phase is reached with the mosaics of the Kariye Camii in the fourteenth century, and with the frescoes at Mistra. Both in the second and in

14. See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "The Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ", P.A. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, IV (Princeton, 1975), 232 and note 242.

15. G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pl.93, 3.

the third phases new elements were transferred from the literary to the visual repertoire, as the artists followed the lead of the orators in embroidering their portrayals of the scene.

Torture was a frequent topic of ekphrasis, both by pagan and by Christian writers. Often antique orators set out to emulate artists by describing tortures portrayed in works of art. For example, an ekphrasis ascribed to the fourth-century pagan orator Libanius describes a sculpture of Prometheus being devoured by the eagle. Through a detailed account of the victim's physical appearance, which moves in turn from the head to the torso, and from the torso to the limbs, the author graphically conveys the suffering of his subject: his hair is long, unkempt and squalid, his face is racked by pain, his eyebrows are distended, his eyes and mouth are closed, his cheeks contracted, and his beard neglected; his neck is bent, his chest swollen out, his stomach contracted and consumed away; his right hand is bent back behind his head, his fingers are bent and interlaced.[16]

Such formal descriptions of torture and suffering found a natural place in Early Christian homilies devoted to the torments of the martyrs. Thus, two fourth-century sermons on the Forty Martyrs by Gregory of Nyssa and Basil the Great provide similar descriptions of the torture endured by the saints, who were exposed in mid-winter to freeze to death beside a lake.[17] Each ekphrasis in these sermons moves in turn from one part of the body to another as it catalogues the physical consequences of exposure to cold. Since St Basil's description has a particular relevance to Byzantine art, we will quote it in full: "The body which has been exposed to cold first becomes all livid as the blood freezes. Then it shakes and seethes, as the teeth chatter, the muscles are convulsed, and the whole mass is involuntarily contracted. A sharp pain and an unspeakable agony reaches into the marrows and causes a freezing sensation which is impossible to bear. Then the extremities of the body are mutilated, as they are burned ⟨by the frost⟩ as if by a fire. For the heat is driven from the extremities of the body and flees to the interior; it leaves the parts which it has abandoned dead, and tortures those into which it is compressed, as little by little death comes on by freezing".

This graphic description is well matched by a famous ivory of the tenth century, now in Leningrad which shows the half-naked martyrs in a variety of convulsed poses as they suffer in the cold.[18] Their bodies are contracted, and their hands are limp as if all life has been drained from them. A series of later Byzantine portrayals of the Forty Martyrs depicts their torments by similar means. We do not know when Basil's description was first illustrated in Byzantine art; there is, however, no reason to suppose that the ivory in Leningrad was the earliest attempt to render the vivid-

16. Ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, VIII (Leipzig, 1915), 511-6.
17. St Gregory of Nyssa, *In quadraginta martyres*, PG, 46, cols. 768D-9A; St Basil the Great, *In sanctos quadraginta martyres*, PG, 31, col. 516A-B.
18. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II (Berlin, 1934), 27, pl.3, no. 9. See also O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection", *DOP*, 14 (1960), 87ff., esp. 105.

ness of the text, though it may have been among the more successful. As Kurt Weitzmann has shown, the original creator of the scene of the suffering martyrs searched in the repertory of pagan art for the models of his contorted half-nude figures.[19] The depiction of the suffering martyrs, then, shows that antique art and literature could be equal partners in introducing classical elements into a medieval image. It was Basil's *text,* conceived according to the conventions of Late Antique oratory, which prompted the creator of the icon to seek out the appropriate visual motifs in pagan art.

It is appropriate that St Basil's sermons on the Forty Martyrs should have influenced later Byzantine art, for in his preface St Basil made an often quoted comparison between art and rhetoric. Basil explained that he would show the prowess of the forty soldiers to all "as if in a picture . . . For the brave deeds of war often supply subjects for both speech writers and painters. Speech writers embellish them with their words, painters depict them on their panels, and both have led many on to acts of bravery. For what spoken narrative presents through hearing, this silent painting shows through imitation".[20] These words were cited by Germanos I, by John of Damascus and finally by Nikephoros in their respective defences of images.[21] Basil's sermon, then, had a particular relevance to Byzantine religious art, which was kept alive as a result of the Iconoclastic controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries. Not only did the sermon instruct the artist to imitate the orator, but in the ekphrasis of the martyrs' torture it provided a set piece of rhetorical description which was ideally suited for imitation.

A very popular subject of description among Byzantine authors was the season of spring. Its delights were catalogued by orators in their exercises, by correspondents in their letters, and by preachers in their sermons. These descriptions also, had an influence on Byzantine art. The most famous model of an ekphrasis of spring was written by the sophist Libanius.[22] In the pagan orator's description we can recognize nearly all of the motifs which were later to adorn the Christian homilies. It was a well known sermon on the New Sunday by Gregory of Nazianzus which gave the ekphrasis of spring a place of respectability in Christian literature. Like Libanius, Gregory observed that: "the streams flow more transparently, the rivers more abundantly, released from the bonds of winter". The homilist also was moved by the luxuriant growth of the plants and he noted that: "the bird is just now building itself a nest, and one bird returns, while the other remains; another flutters around, fills the grove with song, and chatters to man".[23] Similar descrip-

19. K. Weitzmann, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography", *DOP,* 14 (1960), 64f.
20. PG, 31, col. 508C.
21. Germanos, *Epistola IV,* PG, 98. col. 172C-D; John of Damascus, *De imaginibus oratio I,* PG, 94, col. 1265D-8A; Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus III,* PG, 100, col. 380B-D.
22. Ed. Foerster, 479-82.
23. *In novam Dominicam,* PG, 36, cols. 617C-20B.

tions of spring are scattered through the sermons and letters of later Byzantine writers.

Illuminators were called upon to illustrate Gregory's ekphrasis in editions of his liturgical homilies.[24] Byzantine artists also portrayed the clichés of literary springtime in the context of the feast of the Annunciation. The primary association of the feast with the season arose from the date of its celebration, on March 25. For Byzantine writers there was a divine logic lying behind the coincidence of the Annunciation with the renewal of nature; spring and renewal became constant themes in the Greek literature on this feast. In several sermons an entire ekphrasis of spring became an elaborate metaphor for the Annunciation. In the tenth century, for example, John Kyriotes described the flowering land, the singing birds, the leafing trees, the gentle streams, and the birds, the fishes and the animals bringing forth their young.[25]

Among surviving Byzantine paintings of the Annunciation the most striking portrayal of spring is to be found in an icon of the late twelfth century at Mount Sinai.[26] The iconography of this Annunciation scene is extremely unusual. In front of the Virgin and the Angel runs a stream with an irregular, indented bank. An extraordinary variety of sea creatures can be observed in the water. There are herons and ducks in the river, while on land other birds flap their wings or bend their necks to preen themselves. Behind the Virgin rises a tall ethereal building which supports a little roof garden with trees. One of the trees affords a perch to two birds in its upper branches. Above this garden, at the top of the building, two more birds sit in a nest which is balanced on the ridge of the gabled roof.

The wealth of images in this Annunciation scene is unique in Byzantine art, and has not hitherto been explained. Although there was a recognized iconography of the Virgin at the well or fountain, it is unprecedented for her to sit enthroned in a landscape traversed by a river – a river, moreover, which is teeming with all kinds of creatures. In portraying Mary in such a setting the artist appears to have revived a device of ancient illusionism which had been exploited by Early Christian artists. Among the closest parallels to the Byzantine icon are the mid-fourth century dome mosaics of Santa Constanza in Rome which are now only known through water-colour copies.[27] Here the Old Testament scenes were arranged on a receding stage whose front edge was created by the jagged bank of a river in the foreground, in which various sea creatures and river birds disported themselves, just as on the icon.

24. G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), 149ff., figs. 103-8, 140 and 237-40.
25. *In Annuntiationem*, PG, 106, col. 841B-D.
26. K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungsikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts", in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem*, eds. G. von der Osten and G. Kauffmann (Berlin, 1965), plate opposite p. 304.
27. H. Stern, "Les mosaiques de l'église de Sainte-Costance à Rome", *DOP*, 12 (1958), 166ff., fig. 1.

Both the iconographic peculiarities and the stylistic references of the Sinai icon can be explained by the literary tradition. For the artist has evidently attempted, like John Kyriotes, to embellish his portrayal of the Annunciation with an ekphrasis of spring. It is possible that the artist of the icon was partially guided in his portrayal of the ekphrasis by the earlier miniatures of St Gregory's New Sunday sermon. But it is difficult to imagine that the Sinai icon could have been created without additional recourse to a more ancient model similar to the Santa Costanza mosaic. In order to illustrate the classical conventions of the ekphrasis, the Byzantine artist made use of an illusionistic river setting, characteristic of Late Antique and Early Christian painting. The result was a curious division in his style, which combined elements of illusionistic landscape from Antiquity with the abstract gold background of a Middle Byzantine Annunciation scene. The icon is an example of selective naturalism inspired by a rhetorical text, a phenomenon which can be found in other works of Byzantine art.

The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: the Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias

ROBIN CORMACK

The intention of this paper is to ask whether the classical tradition can be measured in terms of the environment of the Byzantine citizen outside Constantinople. I have chosen the cities of Aphrodisias beyond the Maeander in Asia Minor and Thessalonike in North Greece, and will discuss a selection of monuments, using for my argument art historical material rather than documents of administrative institutions, although an analysis of the development of administration could also illuminate the nature of changes in society in these cities. Let me admit at the outset that my choice of cities is an arbitrary one, which derives from my own interests,[1] but I hope that by making some comparisons, a few conclusions will emerge.

Today the appearance of these two sites offers the greatest possible contrast, with Thessalonike being a metropolis with a high urban density while Aphrodisias is being cleared of the few remaining villagers and their dilapidated cottages (and the village of Geyre never occupied more than a part of the medieval city). Both were important cities in antiquity but neither was a *polis* of the classical Athenian type. Thessalonike probably lies over the small town of Thermae but as the major city of the Thermaic Gulf it was a Hellenistic foundation as a result of the merger of 26 local communities: the new foundation dates to ca.316 B.C. under Cassander, who is said to have called the new city Thessalonike after his wife, the sister of Alexander. The site was significant as a potential port, and it is on the route from the Mediterranean into Central Europe up the Axios river (or its valley). Its citizens were part of the Kingdom of Macedon until 146 B.C. when Thessalonike was established as the capital of a Roman province of Macedonia (with a resident governor).

1. The printed text differs little from the lecture as given at the symposium. It would have been possible to extend its range indefinitely with discursive footnotes. I have resisted this temptation, and hope to justify certain statements in future publications on both cities. My knowledge of the archaeology of Aphrodisias is based on two study seasons there (1977 and 1978), and I am grateful for this opportunity to examine the Byzantine material which Professor Kenan Erim made available to me. My photography in both cities was assisted by the loan of a camera by the Central Research Fund of London University.

   For summaries of the present state of knowledge of the classical period in both cities, see R. Stillwell ed., *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites,* (Princeton, 1976), 68-70 for Aphrodisias (by K. Erim), and 912-3 for Thessalonike (by M. Vickers).

The Roman period was for Thessalonike a time of security and relative peace, and it was presumably then a centre of trade and an important port.[2] In the third century Thessalonike was an objective of Gothic attackers but not taken; in the first decade of the fourth century the Tetrarch Galerius built his palace here, including his intended mausoleum. In the middle of the fifth century the Praefectus Praetorio per Illyricum moved his headquarters from Sirmium to Thessalonike, and after this time, there was always some strong military presence in Thessalonike. The layout of Hellenistic Thessalonike with a grid system of streets and a central agora can still be detected,[3] but at the beginning of the Byzantine period, the classical past would have been most conspicuous in public and private buildings of the Roman Imperial period.

Aphrodisias owed its urban development to Roman interest in the cult site of Aphrodite in the second half of the first century B.C. and ambitious building projects date in the time of the Julio-Claudians and Hadrian. Major building operations seem to continue into the sixth century (when probably the city name changed into Stauropolis or, more simply, Caria). No doubt Aphrodisias was laid out in a grid system of streets, but so far it has not been possible to excavate whole sectors of the city. The marble sculptors of Aphrodisias not only decorated massive Roman monuments along the streets and in the agora, but exported works of Carian marble elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The Byzantine citizens looked back to a classical past of great urban prosperity in the Roman Imperial period, as did the citizens of Thessalonike. Unlike Thessalonike, Aphrodisias lacked the continuing military presence; though more off the beaten track, it was also under Gothic threat in the third century. In the Byzantine "Dark Ages" of the seventh to the ninth centuries, when both cities faced attack from foreign invaders, Aphrodisias failed to survive at the same level of urban activity as Thessalonike; it is not yet clear from excavation whether the population of Aphrodisias huddled on the Acropolis or even moved to settlements nearby – but both cities went through a period of revival in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Aphrodisias went into a decline in the twelfth century, from which it never recovered. Thessalonike differs in this period, and in the early fourteenth century became the most important city outside Constantinople. It can be noted that Aphrodisias was only about half the physical

2. M. Vickers, "The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki", *Balkan Studies*, 11 (1970), 261-78.

3. *Idem*, "Towards a Reconstruction of the Town Planning of Roman Thessaloniki", *First International Symposium 'Ancient Macedonia', Thessalonike, 1968* (Thessalonike, 1970), 239-51; *idem*, "Hellenistic Thessaloniki", *JHS*, 92 (1972), 156-70. *Tabula Imperii Romani* (Ljubljana, 1976), 139-47 (the section on Thessalonike is by Anna Avraméa and includes a useful bibliography); N.C. Moutsopoulos, "Contribution à l'étude du plan de ville de Thessalonique à l'époque romaine", *Atti del XVI Congresso di storia dell'architettura, Atene 29 Settembre-5 Ottobre 1969*, (Rome, 1977), 187-263.

Opposite:
Fig. 1: The Theatre at Aphrodisias

size of Thessalonike and was always a poorer and more remote city. Both places were surrounded by excellent agricultural land.

The basis for civilised urban life in both cities was established in the Roman Imperial period. The question can therefore be asked; what happened to their monuments and the environment in which they were established during the Middle Ages? What traditions survived or died or were resisted or revived? I shall take a number of examples to consider the question.

Walls

One legacy to both cities from antiquity was their physical extent. Both kept the full area of the classical city, despite fluctuations of population. The actual fabric of the walls of the medieval city in both cases shows panic building and the demolition of parts of public buildings for the rapid acquisition of materials.[4] The citizens of Thessalonike could have noticed blocks of seats from the hippodrome built into some sections of their walls, while the citizens of Aphrodisias could have read parts of broken classical inscriptions or noticed many pieces of sculptured reliefs in their walls. The circuit of the walls of Aphrodisias extended to the north in order to include the stadium, but the reason for this decision was not necessarily due to the urban development of the site, for to have left the stadium outside the walls would have been to supply an enemy with too useful a base of operations. The walls of Thessalonike extended up the hill to the north to include the acropolis (a citadel where the exiled Cicero in 58 B.C. sheltered from invading Thracians). Aphrodisias too had an acropolis (originally an artificial mound of the prehistoric period), and this was given its own circuit of walls in the Middle Ages: either in the seventh century after the theatre collapsed and went out of use, or in the late eleventh century. By the twelfth century, there were regular habitations on the Acropolis.

Throughout the Byzantine period the citizens of both these cities lived within walls laid out in antiquity and passed through Roman gates (for example the gate at one end of the main street of Thessalonike remained in its mid-second-century form until 1874). The grid system of streets survived probably intact until the seventh century, but after this time not all the streets in either city were maintained. Abandoned areas of both cities came into the hands of the church, and were redeveloped (as the Triconch church at Aphrodisias and the Panagia Chalkeon at Thessalonike show).

4. The catalogue of inscriptions of Aphrodisias is being prepared by Joyce Reynolds and Charlotte Roueché; the date of the latest inscription built into the walls is fourth century and is likely to provide the best dating indication. For the dating of the present circuit of the wall of Thessalonike to the middle of the fifth century, see the bibliography in the *Princeton Encyclopaedia*, to which should now be added: J.A.S. Evans, "The Walls of Thessalonica", *Byzantion*, 47 (1977), 361-2, and B. Croke, "Hormisdas and the Late Roman Walls of Thessalonica", *GRBS*, 19 (1978), 251-8 (Croke dates the walls to 442/3).

Public Buildings

The stage buildings of the theatre at Aphrodisias (fig. 1) were redecorated with frescoes in the sixth century, evidence that the building was still in use though not necessarily for performances as the content of the paintings was Christian. Later on in the century or at the beginning of the seventh, the *scaenae frons* and its sculptural decoration collapsed forward into the orchestra, and became in due course the foundations for Byzantine and later Turkish houses. The stadium of Aphrodisias was at some time adapted for use at the east end only (perhaps after the collapse of the theatre). So this stadium, like that at Ephesus, was converted from use for athletic competitions for some other entertainment. The stadium continued in good condition through the Byzantine period, as did the odeion.

At Thessalonike there was a Roman theatre in the agora, and this is the so-called stadium of the Middle Ages, which was still in use in the ninth century for a public meeting.[5] As for the Tetrarchic Hippodrome, the use of some of its seating in the walls in the middle of the fifth century implies it went out of use for chariot racing by that time, although it has recently been suggested that it was patched up with makeshift seating and used even into the sixth century.[6] There is again a hint that this was used in the Middle Byzantine period for public meetings.[7]

The evidence of these monuments in both cities is that the places for public entertainment gradually went out of use, but the buildings were left to deteriorate. Sometimes they were used as a piecemeal source for materials, but they were never systematically redeveloped. Such buildings are therefore examples of the Byzantines living in the wreckage of the classical world. The church disapproved of the entertainments connected with these buildings, but hostility was not great enough to lead to organised demolition.

Palaces

The hippodrome of Thessalonike was constructed by Galerius to connect with the palace establishments. The Tetrarchic palace was apparently abandoned in the middle of the fifth century when the Prefect arrived from Sirmium and substantially redeveloped the city. In addition to the rebuilding of the walls and the construction of several major churches (including that of St Demetrios), a new palace and military headquarters must have been made. There is not the evidence to say if this was on the site of the quaestorium mentioned by Cicero or in a new location. There is a difficulty in accepting that the site for the new palace was in the area where the Nea Mone of Choumnos (church of the Prophet Elijah) now stands, as the *Miracula* of St Demetrios describes it as some distance from the basilica of St Demetrios; the palace may in fact have been located down near the

5. See the *Princeton Encyclopaedia* for a bibliography on the stadium.
6. M. Vickers, "The Hippodrome at Thessaloniki", *JRS*, 62 (1972), 25-32, and J.A.S. Evans, *art.cit.*
7. M. Vickers, "Observations on the Octagon at Thessaloniki", *JRS*, 63 (1973), 111-20, and *idem*, "A Note on the Byzantine Palace at Thessaloniki", *BSA*, 66 (1971), 369-71.

Constantinian harbour.[8] Although the site of this fifth-century palace is not yet clear, at least it can be said that the secular administration of the city was centred in the Middle Ages in a setting developed as part of the extensive redevelopment of the early Byzantine period.[9]

The identification of the palace of the Governor at Aphrodisias is not yet certain, but the large building which includes a triconch hall is the most likely candidate of the public buildings so far excavated. This complex may in turn have become the medieval bishop's palace; if this transition did occur, it would be a good symbol of the change in the status of the church during the history of the city and of the growth of a new kind of permanent authority in provincial Byzantine cities.[10] A number of Late Antique wall paintings was found in this complex. The subjects were the three Muses and a Nike. One is bound to wonder if these pagan figures remained visible through the Middle Ages.

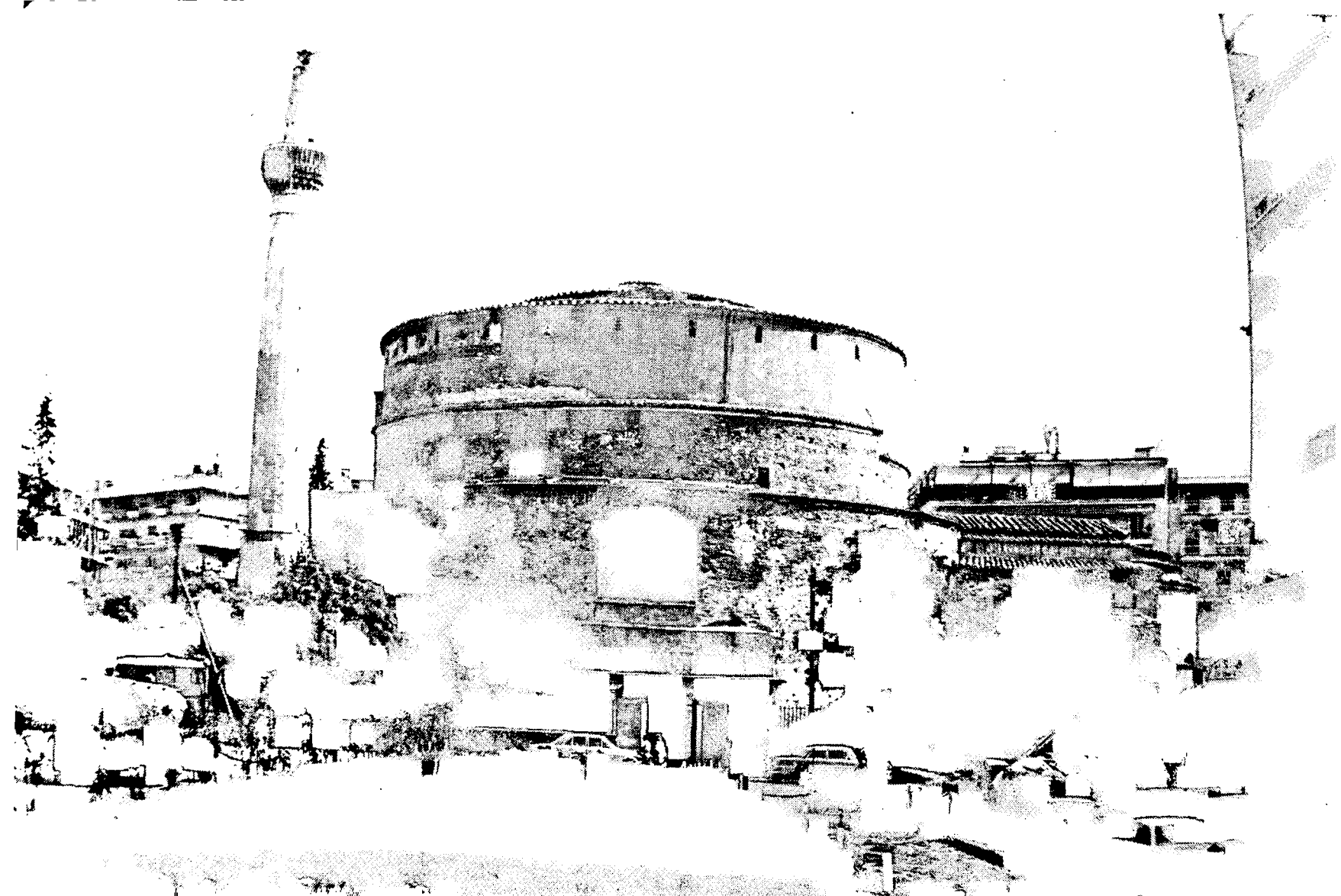
Temples and Churches

The most important buildings for the consideration of the classical tradition are the ambitious cult buildings of the two cities. Aphrodisias owed its development in the classical period to the cult of Aphrodite. Thessalonike developed for different reasons and its classical temples were not the centre of great cults (an archaic temple and the Hellenistic Serapeion or Roman temple of Roma and Augustus are known from partial exacavation). The function of one mid-second-century building which survived through the Middle Ages is unknown: its colonnade, known as Las Incantadas (the Enchanted Ones) by the Spanish Jews of the Ottoman period, stood in the city until its removal to the Louvre in 1864. Its caryatid decoration, if not the complete building, was part of the environment of the medieval citizen.[11]

The main cult site of Aphrodisias, the Temple of the Goddess, was converted to use as the main church of the city. In Thessalonike the large Rotunda built by Galerius in the first decade of the fourth century to act as his mausoleum (fig. 2) is an equivalent example of a major building which was early on converted into Christian use.[12] The evidence of each of these conversions can be considered in turn.

8. Cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantines* (Paris, 1975), esp. 398-9; for the text of the *Miracula*, see now P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius*, I (Paris, 1979), 66, lines 19-20.
9. For the changing status of the prefect of Thessalonike, see P. Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au VIIIe siècle", *RH*, 211 (1954), 265-308.
10. Cf. J. Herrin, "Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205", *DOP*, 29 (1975), 255-84.
11. M. Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1974), esp. 281-2.
12. M. Vickers, "The date of the mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki", *BSR*, 35 (1970), 183-7 and W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki", *Viator*, 3 (1972), 27-107.

Opposite:
Fig. 2: Galerius' Rotunda, Thessalonike



The Temple of Aphrodite dominated the northern part of the city of Aphrodisias (fig. 3). It was an Ionic temple dating (to judge from its style) no earlier than the first century B.C. in this form; the temenos was built in the time of Hadrian. This major temple of antiquity was the building converted into a church by Christians who buried the cult statue of the goddess under a wall on the south side of the temple.[13] There is no recorded testimony of rioting at the time of the conversion which may give a clue that the alterations were not earlier than the middle of the fifth century. So far the best context for the conversion that can be suggested is the visit of Theodosius II to the city in 443 when he donated privileges to the bishop; perhaps the conversion followed soon after this visit.[14] The Christians decided not to pull down the symbol of classical paganism in the city but to transform it into the main church of Aphrodisias, the cathedral dedicated to St Michael.

The architectural conversion of the temple is one of the more radical of those known. The number of columns in the Ionic temple was 13 x 8; the Christians shifted those columns on the short sides and added them to the long sides. This alteration is easiest to detect at the north-west corner where the column with its original corner capital is in position, but the colonnade now continues out further to the west and rests on a makeshift foundation. Such a relocation of the columns as well as their capitals called for considerable engineering expertise and a large team of labourers.[15] The new cathedral was a large basilica with the new long colonnade dividing it into a church with a nave and two aisles, with apse and side rooms at the east end. The entrance of the temple must have been from the east, and probably the present apse foundation was an altar platform. The west courtyard and the narthex was formed out of the Hadrianic temenos. The outer walls of the church beyond the colonnade have now mostly fallen but in the Middle Ages these concealed the columns entirely from the exterior and were the supports for a double-pitched wooden roof. The church was decorated with mosaics and a cut marble floor. Marble parapet slabs and a chancel were cut for the liturgical arrangements of the fifth century, and at some date the capitals were gilded.

The converted temple remained the cathedral throughout the Middle Ages. It needed repairs and alterations in the tenth century, when apparently the liturgical arrangements were altered and a new sanctuary screen installed which reused

13. Cf. G. Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A.D. 320-45", *JThS*, 29 (1978), 53-78.

14. The evidence concerning Theodosius II will be discussed by C. Roueché in her publication of the Byzantine inscriptions. A useful review article with a bibliography on church conversions is that of J.-M. Spieser, "La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce", *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen*, (Tübingen, 1977), 309-20.

15. Professor K. Erim has suggested to me that some of the capitals were carved at the time of the conversion.

Opposite:
Fig. 3: The Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias

available marble items piecemeal (including a fragment of the Price Edict of Diocletian which had originally been set up in the agora basilica). The passageway behind the *synthronon* was painted with a cycle of figures in the Middle Byzantine period and was perhaps used as *prothesis* when the side-chapels were separated off from the nave. The precise date of destruction of the cathedral is not known – it went out of use after a fire.

Throughout the history of Byzantine Aphrodisias the main church was the prominent converted classical temple of Aphrodite. It is an example of the literal way in which a building from antiquity could continue in active use in the Middle Ages. In several ways its classical elements were transformed; not only were the columns moved and concealed within a masonry wall but it changed from a cult building to a regular assembly hall, and in due course came to contain tombs. The earliest tombs of the bishops have been found in a necropolis outside the walls, but tombs along the aisles of the cathedral indicate one way in which the development of Christianity changed the classical customs of burial. These tombs within the cathedral were most likely for bishops or prominent citizens.

Thessalonike also gives evidence of a major conversion into a church in the middle of the fifth century. Here it is not a temple that was taken over but the unused circular mausoleum of Galerius.[16] This was enlarged into a church by the addition of an ambulatory, an extended apse, and a number of subsidiary chambers (the columns in the niches were removed and these areas became bays between the central circular nucleus and the ambulatory). This conversion too was a major engineering operation. Enormous constructions of scaffolding would have been required also not only for the architectural alterations but for the mosaicists who decorated the vast dome with a scheme of martyrs in a heavenly setting and with other sacred figures above them (mostly now lost).

There is no clear evidence of the dedication or function of the new Rotunda church. It would seem that the cathedral of Thessalonike was under construction at the same time that this conversion was taking place, as was the large Basilica of the Virgin.[17] The most conspicuous church construction of this period would have been the memorial transept church of St Demetrios to the north of the agora (which had revetment on its walls in direct continuation of the types of the Tetrarchic palace, and might even incorporate reused elements).

The apse of the Rotunda suffered damage, probably from an earthquake, and was redecorated with wall-paintings in the late ninth century. As a church it survived throughout the Byzantine period; its superb fifth-century mosaics remained visible

16. G. Velenis, "Some observations on the original form of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki", *Balkan Studies*, 15 (1974), 298-307.

17. The entry on this church in the updating article on the inscriptions of Thessalonike needs to be supplemented: see D. Feissel and J.-M. Spieser, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. II. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique. Supplément", *TM*, 7 (1979), 303-48, esp. 312. To this article add: Ch. Bakirtzis, "Sur le donateur et la date des mosaiques d'Acheiropoietos à Thessalonique", *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana. Roma 11-17 Settembre 1975* (Rome, 1978), 37-44.

(presumably even during Iconoclasm) and might have acted as a source of inspiration to artists of any period who worked in Thessalonike. Its architecture would have been of less artistic interest than its decoration.

In Thessalonike the environment of the city was considerably changed in the fifth century at the time the Rotunda was converted and several large churches were built, aligned to the existing grid system of streets. Only one more very large church was built at a later period in Thessalonike. This was the domed basilica of St Sophia which I believe was constructed in the 780s and intended as a new cathedral which like the sixth-century Great Church of Constantinople was surmounted by a large central dome. This means that Thessalonike differs from Aphrodisias in being brought up to date in the post-Justinianic period. The bishop of Aphrodisias had to remain satisfied with a large basilica, which in the tenth century was trimmed down in size, either for reasons of economy or because of the reduced size of his congregation. The bishop of Thessalonike gained a new centrally-planned cathedral in which he could copy the liturgical arrangements of St Sophia in the capital and on the walls of which new mosaics in the ninth century and wall-paintings in the eleventh century showed his harmony with new artistic ideas of the capital. One might say that Aphrodisias retained a cathedral of the lintel and column architecture of the Greek and Hellenistic tradition, while Thessalonike in the eighth century gained a masonry church with a dome of the Roman tradition.

Medieval Developments

The evidence which has been mentioned so far points primarily to survivals of features in the two cities which show how their classical core survived, either virtually unchanged as in the street system, agora, or walls, or in a much altered form, as in major buildings converted into churches and so surviving in a camouflaged setting. It might therefore be commented that this evidence shows less the continuation of a classical tradition than the survival of antiquity itself, which was then available as a potential stimulus for Byzantine work at any later period. The Byzantine period might on this evidence be characterised as a time when an antique environment was maintained. The circuit of the walls was maintained, although principles of defence might change in response to developments in warfare. The cathedral of Aphrodisias and the Rotunda of Thessalonike were carefully maintained throughout the period despite the need for expensive work of restoration. Similarly, the fifth-century church of St Demetrios had to be reconstructed and redecorated after a major fire in the seventh century.

To give a different perspective on the nature of the classical tradition in the cities, I shall select two examples of new Christian buildings of the Middle Byzantine period. There are two roughly contemporary churches in the two cities which are therefore suitable for a comparison. In Thessalonike there is the Panagia Chalkeon dated by inscription to 1028 and so belonging to a period of prosperity and expan-

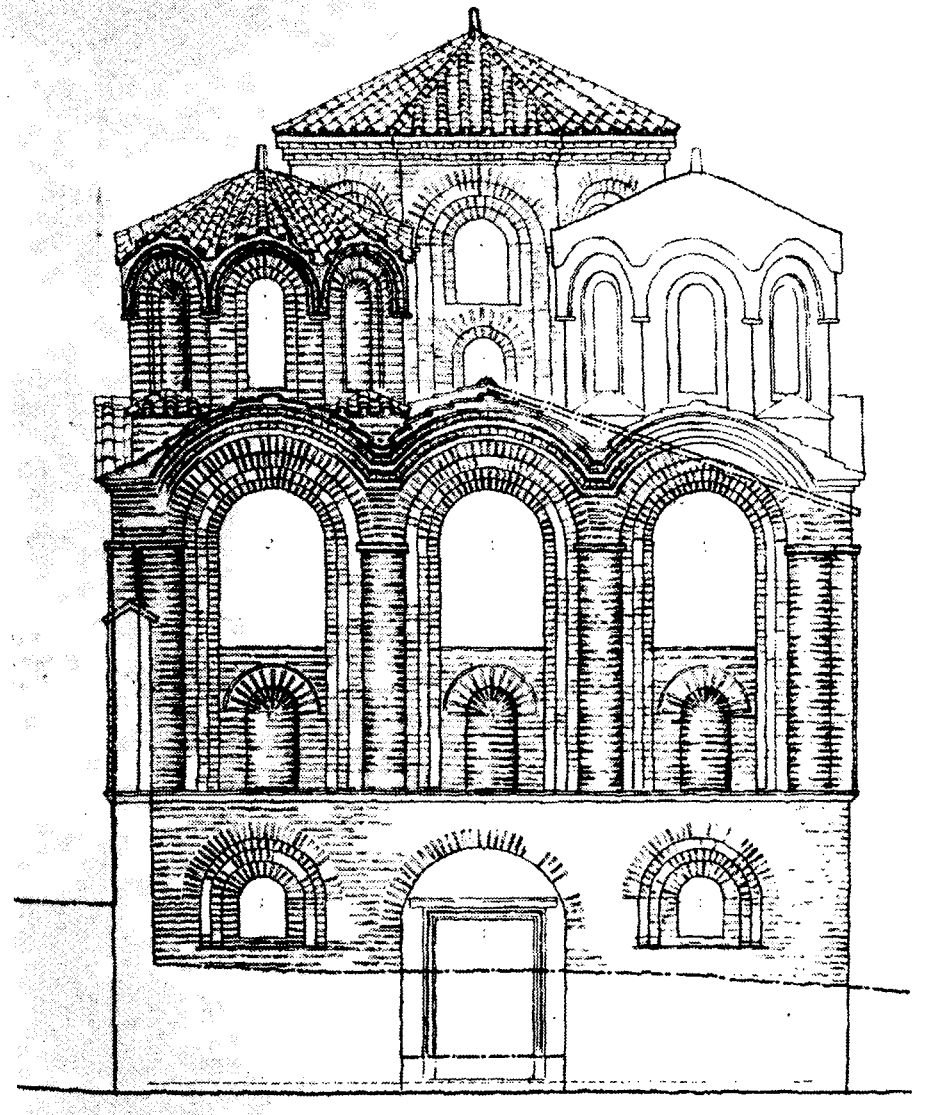
sion after the triumph of Basil II against the Bulgarians (fig. 4).[18] The Panagia Chalkeon was built as the family mortuary chapel of the katepan of South Italy, and to judge from the wording of its inscription it may have been maintained as an oratory rather than as the katholikon of a monastery (the same status may be suggested for the tenth- or eleventh-century church of St John in Troullo in Constantinople). In Aphrodisias a church of similar period has been partially excavated, and may be referred to as the Triconch church (fig. 5). My dating to the late tenth or early eleventh century derives from a stylistic analysis of the carving of its templon screen. It seems most likely that this church was the katholikon of an urban monastery but a decision on this point must wait for further excavation.

The Triconch church lies in the area to the south-west of the Acropolis of Aphrodisias. The church is entered through a narthex and the naos takes the form of a triconch with an extended east apse and side chapels. The triconch form was popular on Athos and elsewhere at this period, particularly for monastic use. The materials used in the construction are informative about the attitudes of the builders of the city at this period. The main door into the naos has an opening constructed entirely of reused classical marble pieces. The vaulting of the naos has not survived but there can be little doubt that it was some form of cupola. What is clear is that this cupola was supported on four huge monoliths on octagonal bases which now lie collapsed in the naos. These four columns and their tall bases are not productions of the Middle Byzantine period but are reused pieces of the classical city. Furthermore they are reused on their original site. In antiquity they formed a monumental Tetrakionon at a crossroads in the city. The floor of the naos of the Triconch consists of the paving stones of these streets. The architects have built the church around the surviving Tetrakionon. It follows that in the Middle Ages this road system in this part of the city had gone out of use and lay abandoned. The walls of the church have several pieces of reused marble in them, one of which comes from some earlier church. The eastern sanctuary is raised up, and the steps on to the platform are reused pieces of marble. Pieces which are clearly derived from the same source are carved to form the templon of the Triconch, and this makes it clear that the building all belongs to one constructional phase. In the carving of this templon one can recognize similarities with other western Asia Minor sculpture of the medieval period and no influence in style or technique from the famous Aphrodisian style of antiquity such as in the Baths of Hadrian (some of this classical sculpture was taken from the site to the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul at the beginning of this century).

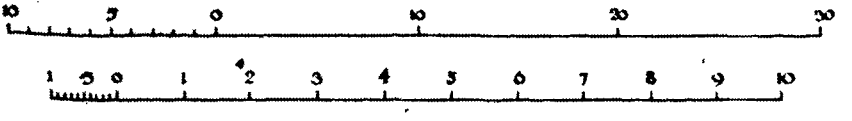
The masonry technique of the apses of the Triconch is identical with that found in the fifth-century apse of the cathedral, and with that of the governor's palace

18. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz and Cologne, 1966).

Opposite:
Fig. 4: The Panagia Chalkeon at Thessalonike



WEST ELEVATION



(which also uses the triconch format for one of its halls). It would seem that a local technique of handling stone survived from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages, and so in one sense one can point to the survival of a classical tradition and the reuse of classical pieces; but the type of architecture and its function for the monastic liturgy had no counterpart in the classical city. It is best to see the Triconch as the production of a radically different culture and society than to emphasize any debt it may owe to the classical tradition.

The Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike was extensively restored in the 1930s but its original architectural articulation and interior wall-paintings have been preserved. The tenth-century church of the Myrelaion at Constantinople shows a parallel interest in exterior surface effects. The masonry technique has no connection with the earlier brick constructions of Thessalonike for the Panagia Chalkeon is one of the first examples of a new technique of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the so-called recessed brick technique (where alternate courses of bricks are set back into the wall and then plastered over to give the impression of very thick plaster beds).[19] This church in Thessalonike is therefore a good case of a new kind of medieval institution which has no forerunner in antiquity. The Panagia Chalkeon takes us far from the classical tradition. Yet it might not be unreasonable to see at least one architectural element in it which looks back to the classical world: the west facade does after all have the tripartite system of a Roman arch or gateway or of the architecture in the mosaics of the Rotunda. So even in a building of a developed medieval nature, elements occur which do remind us of the classical background of Byzantine culture. To some extent therefore it becomes a matter of personal judgement in interpreting how far such elements of classical derivation should be emphasized in the analysis of urban environment.

So far the excavations of Aphrodisias have uncovered no buildings later than the Middle Byzantine period. With the arrival of the Seljuks, the city went into decline and it never revived. One feels that the weight of the classical past did become almost a literal fact of life. When an antique building fell over on to a street, that street would be abandoned for lack of engineering skill and manpower in removing the marble debris. The sheer bulk of its classical monuments therefore imposed its character on to the medieval citizens. It was in the construction of churches that they transformed the character of some sectors; and the theatre slowly disappeared below their houses on the acropolis.

Thessalonike continued to transform the classical background of the city in the fourteenth century which was a new period of local prosperity. A substantial number of new small monasteries was constructed in the upper city. The most ambitious was that of the Virgin of 1310-1314 (now known as Holy Apostles). Even the church of St Demetrios was altered by the addition of the chapel of St

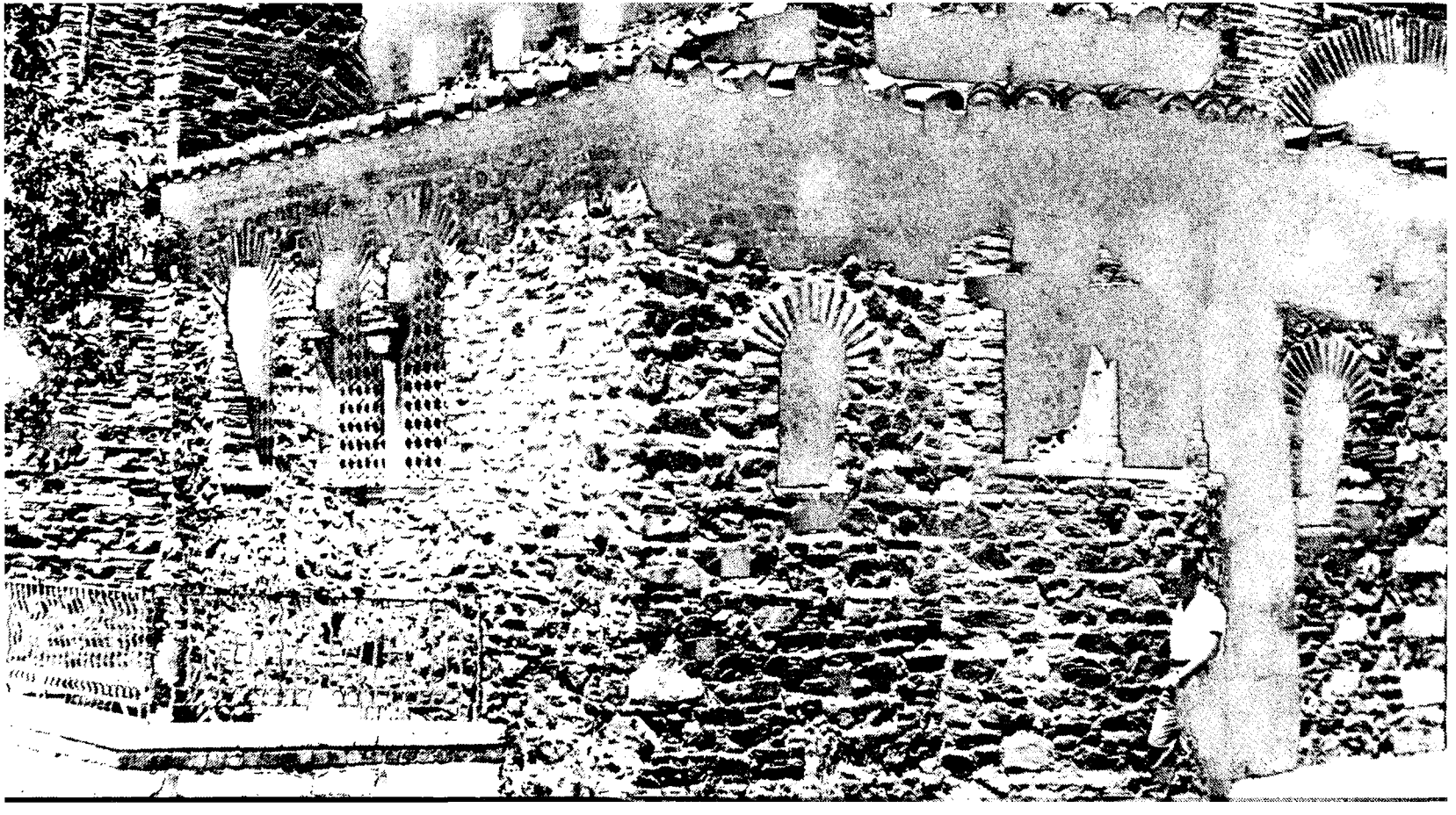
19. P.L. Vocotopoulos, "The Concealed Course Technique: further examples and a few remarks", *JÖB*, 28 (1979), 247-60.

Opposite:
Fig. 5: The Triconch Church at Aphrodisias

Euthymios at the east end in 1303 (fig. 6). The evidence of this tiny basilica is worth emphasis. The architecture of Thessalonike is dominated by the commissions of successful generals, as for example the mausoleum of the fourth-century Tetrarch Galerius and the more modest mortuary church of the eleventh-century katepan of South Italy. The church of St Euthymios was also built by a major military leader, the Protostrator Glabas (whose mortuary chapel is preserved as the *parakklesion* of the Fetiye Camii at Istanbul). In no way can one see this minuscule church in Thessalonike as following a "classical tradition" of triumphal architecture of great generals. St Euthymios shows the kind of transformation of society which occurred in the Byzantine period and which allowed Glabas to build this small oratory in honour of an early Christian monk for whom he had a special affection and admiration.

This comparison of two provincial cities of the Byzantine empire must necessarily be too arbitrary to merit a systematic conclusion, yet their evidence gives some insight into the term "classical tradition". Both cities were developed in antiquity in different circumstances, and an awareness of the classical past was dominant in some aspects of their Byzantine development. In comparison with each other, Aphrodisias appears like a Roman city in a state of decline with certain traditions remaining strong; although the expertise of the sculptors of Aphrodisias was apparently lost in the fifth or sixth centuries and never regained, the same traditions of building masonry continued from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages. Thessalonike on the other hand transformed itself from a standard Hellenistic foundation to become a thoroughly medieval city where discontinuity is more significant than continuity or survivals of the classical tradition: in this city the classical is only one of several traditions within which its architects and artists worked. In other words, the citizens of these two cities lived in an environment which owed much to its classical past, but to speak of a living classical tradition would be to ignore the realities of life in the Middle Ages. Buildings survived for centuries not because there was any aesthetic wish to preserve ancient monuments, but because they were originally built to last. The classical tradition in the Byzantine provincial city needs very careful analysis; it is a much more negative factor in everyday life than it was in literature.

Opposite:
Fig. 6: Chapel of St Euthymios, St Demetrios, Thessalonike



PEOPLE, PLACES AND THINGS

Photios and the Reading Public for Classical Philology in Byzantium

WARREN TREADGOLD

Probably in the spring of the year 845, the accomplished scholar and future patriarch Photios (*ca.* 810- after 892) compiled a long work with a long title. The title may be translated, *Inventory and Enumeration of the Books That We Have Read, Of Which Our Beloved Brother Tarasios Requested a General Analysis.*[1] Later scholars, finding this title cumbersome, have renamed Photios' work the *Bibliotheca;* I shall follow their example here. The *Bibliotheca* would fill something over a thousand pages of ordinary format. It includes descriptions of about four hundred books on practically every possible subject; the earliest book is the *Histories* of Herodotus, and the latest was apparently written by Photios' own father, Sergios Confessor.[2]

This extraordinary compilation is cast in the form of a letter addressed to the author's brother, Tarasios. At the beginning and in several other passages, Photios refers to the circumstances under which he composed, which may be summarized as follows. Before the *Bibliotheca* was written, the two brothers had read certain books (perhaps only the orations of Himerius) alone together. Then Tarasios, learning that Photios was going to leave on an embassy to the Arabs, asked him for an account of the books that Photios had read entirely in private. In response to this request, Photios composed a single draft of his thousand-page work and sent it to his brother.[3]

Photios' version of how he composed the *Bibliotheca* has proved difficult for modern scholars to accept. For one thing, it means that Photios read these four

1. *Apographe kai synarithmesis ton anagnosmenon hemin biblion hon eis kephalaiode diagnosin ho egapemenos hemon adelphos Tarasios exetesato. Bibliotheca,* ed. and trans. R. Henry, 8 vols. (Paris, 1959-77), I.1. On the *Bibliotheca* in general and on its date in particular, see W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (DOS, 18, Washington D.C., forthcoming), on which the present paper is principally based.
2. The *Bibliotheca* is divided into 280 chapters, conventionally called "codices" in a continuation of the metaphor of the title, though in fact many "codices" describe more than one book and some describe more or less than one manuscript volume. Herodotus is reviewed in "codex" 60, ed. Henry, I, 57-58, Sergios in "codex" 67, I. 99. On Sergios, see C. Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios", *Iconoclasm,* eds. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 135-9.
3. See especially the preface, I, 1-2, "codex" 165 (on Himerius), *ibid.,* II, 139-40, "codex" 187, III, 48, and the postface, VIII, 214; for corrections to the text of the first and third of these, see W. Treadgold, "The Preface of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius: Text, Translation and Commentary", *DOP,* 31 (1977), 343-9, and *idem.,* "photius on the Transmission of Texts *(Bibliotheca,* Codex 187)" *GRBS,* 19 (1978), 171-5.

hundred books, including such multivolume works as the complete histories of Diodorus Siculus and Cassius Dio, all by himself. For many years, however, many scholars have supposed that the books were read by some sort of "reading circle", a myth that has no basis anywhere and has only recently begun to die a richly deserved death. But Photios' statements mean more than that he read all the books alone. They also mean that he addressed the *Bibliotheca* to just one man, his brother. In other words, the *Bibliotheca* is not only composed in the form of a gigantic letter; it really is one. This fact is not explicitly acknowledged anywhere in the present secondary literature on the *Bibliotheca,* which seems to assume that nobody is fond enough of his brother to compose a thousand pages for him.

To be sure, Photios' version of the *Bibliotheca's* composition must be checked against the text of the *Bibliotheca* as we have it. When this is done, we find that about half the work (and all of its latter part) consists of what seem to be notes, taken down carelessly for the author's own use when the books were originally read; this material includes no references to Tarasios, and in fact some of it reappears in Photios' later compilation, the *Amphilochia.*[4] Assuming that these were indeed private reading notes, however, we can still accept Photios' statements that he compiled the *Bibliotheca* for Tarasios; we need only suppose that Photios had his notes copied into the text by his secretary, whom he mentions specifically in his preface. This supposition does not necessarily expand the *Bibliotheca's* intended audience beyond Tarasios; indeed, it suggests that in the first instance the intended audience of about half the work was only Photios himself.

As for the rest of the *Bibliotheca,* it includes discussions and evaluations that are not at all like notes. These further contain twenty-nine references to Tarasios in the second person that are spread all over the first half of the work.[5] That Photios composed only one draft is confirmed by the presence of many gaps that he left in his text for one reason or another and never returned to fill.[6] Since Photios says that he had only one secretary and was about to leave on his embassy when he composed, there was no time to have another copy made. Thus we have only one copy, addressed to Tarasios.

Can we believe this? I think we can and should.

When the *Bibliotheca* was composed in the mid-ninth century, the revival of Byzantine learning had been going on for about fifty years, but fifty years is not a long time for such a movement. During most of the previous century, virtually no literature of any kind had been composed in the Empire. By the early ninth century, theology and history were being written again – notably by the Patriarch Nikephoros

4. The latter part, which is all recopied notes, consists of "codices" 234-80, V, 83-VIII, 214. "Codices" 275 and 277, VIII, 118-9 and 131-55 are substantially identical with *Amphilochia,* "questions" 158-70, PG, 101, cols. 833C-65C.

5. In "codices" 161, 165, 187, 191, 222, 223, 225, 229, and 230; for the exact references, see Treadgold, *Nature,* 40 and notes 7-10.

6. In "codices" 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 68, 74, 78, 85, 124, 168, 203, 216, 219, 229, and 231; for the exact references, see Treadgold, *Nature,* 73-5 and notes 34-44.

– as well as hagiography, hymns, and epistolography.[7] But nothing that could properly be called a philological encyclopaedia or commentary had been written since the sixth century. Philology, as a literary genre, had been dead for well over two hundred years.

Thus, if Photios wanted to write a work on the literature of earlier times in the year 845, it was hardly a natural thing for him to write a formal literary history. On the other hand, the genre of epistolography was alive and highly adaptable. As we can see from the collected letters of Theodore of Stoudios, Ignatios the Deacon, and Photios himself, ninth-century Byzantine letters could include extensive scholarly discussions.[8] Of course, no less than the *Bibliotheca*, they could eventually be circulated to many persons besides the original addressee. It was therefore not unnatural (though it was a clever idea) for Photios to write his literary history in the form of a letter when the occasion for the letter presented itself.

Tradition aside, there was a practical reason for writing scholarly letters rather than long philological works in the mid-ninth century. In this period, the reading public for any literature was still small in Byzantium, and particularly small for a work as long, erudite, and secular as the *Bibliotheca*. There were a number of literate men, of course; even at the beginning of the ninth century Theodore of Stoudios was able to correspond with well over three hundred people, including many provincials and at least fifty women.[9] Theological works, read by the clergy and monks, and short manuals and works of reference, used in schools, could reasonably be copied and distributed; but it is not surprising that Photios did not think of copying and distributing the *Bibliotheca* to a large and eager scholarly audience. Literary scholars simply did not constitute a readership for which books were written at this time.

Nevertheless, my point is not that the mid-ninth century was a period of ignorance and indifference in philological matters, but that it was a period of transition out of ignorance and indifference. In its form the *Bibliotheca* is rather unambitious, but in its content it is a work of wide-ranging literary research. Further, it seems likely that Photios underestimated the potential readership of his compilation, and that before long it was circulated to a greater extent than he had contemplated; scholia based on it appear later in the same century.[10] When the *Bibliotheca* was compiled, the schools of the Magnaura and of Photios were beginning to

7. For an overview of the revival of learning, see W. Treadgold, "The Revival of Byzantine Learning and the Revival of the Byzantine State", *AHR*, 84 (1979), 1245-66.

8. Theodore's letters are edited in PG, 99 and by G. Cozza-Luzi in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VIII. I (Rome 1871), 1-244. Ignatios' letters are edited by G. Gedeon, *Nea Bibliotheke Ekklesiastikon Syngrapheon*, I, fasc. 1 (Constantinople, 1903), but this edition is virtually unobtainable, and the letters are being reedited by C. Mango. Photios' letters are edited by I. Valettas (London, 1864) and are being reedited by L.G. Westerink.

9. See Treadgold, "Revival", 1257-8 for a discussion of Theodore's correspondents and of their probable educational level.

10. On the later influence of the *Bibliotheca*, see A. Diller, "Photius' *Bibliotheca* in Byzantine Literature", *DOP*, 16 (1962), 389-96.

produce students, and the numbers of the well-educated were increasing.[11] Some short philological works had already appeared, like a lexicon by Photios and a little biographical dictionary that we now call the *Hesychius Epitome.*[12] By the next century, Byzantium was ready for long and formal philological works, and produced several: the *Souda,* the Constantinian *Excerpta,* and so on.[13] These works were a continuation of the development in Byzantine scholarly literature that had begun with Photios' lengthy compilation.

I would therefore argue that the *Bibliotheca* was a transitional work. Since Photios was not ready to write a long work of formal philology, he wrote a long work of informal philology. Though his inhibitions indicate that the Byzantine intellectual revival had some distance yet to go, that he composed such a work at all shows that the revival had already gone a long way. The overgrown private letter that he produced foreshadowed – and almost certainly influenced – the future development of the formal encyclopaedia and commentary in Byzantium.

11. The School of the Magnaura was founded in 838, and Photios was teaching by about 843. For the former date, see W. Treadgold, "The Chronological Accuracy of the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813-845", *DOP,* 33 (1979), 185-7, for the latter date, see F. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Paris, 1933), 352 and 34.
12. Photios says himself (*Amphilochia,* PG, 101, "question" 21, col. 153C), that he composed a lexicon when he was very young; this may have been a lost, earlier version of the *Lexikon* by Photios that survives, ed. S.A. Naber, (Leiden, 1864-5). On the *Hesychius Epitome,* compiled about 843 from the *Onomatologus* of Hesychius of Miletus and other sources and used by both Photios and the *Souda,* see Treadgold, *Nature,* chap. 4.
13. On tenth-century encyclopaedism, see P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin: notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle* (Paris, 1971), 267-300.

The Philosophical Background of the Eleventh-Century Revival of Learning in Byzantium

CONSTANTINE NIARCHOS

Professor Paul Lemerle has raised the question of who exactly were the citizens of the Byzantine Empire. Were they real descendants of the ancient Greeks, or were they a mixture of various peoples tenuously connected with the Greeks, or were they the usurpers of the glorious Classical Heritage?[1] It is the main purpose of this article to attempt an answer in relation to philosophy and its substantial contribution to the revival of learning in the Byzantine Empire. The renaissance of letters and philosophical studies in eleventh-century Byzantium indicates the direct dependence of Byzantine thinkers on the teachings of classical philosophy and literature.[2]

By *philosophia* the Byzantines certainly meant what the classical writers thought it to be: the love of wisdom and the subsequent knowledge of both God and the universe under Christian influence. The term *philosophia,* however, in its twofold form (theoretical and practical), was applied to both "outer" and "inner" learning, the former denoting pagan thought and the latter covering many aspects of Christian teaching, ethics and monastic contemplation.[3] The church Fathers made frequent use of the term *philosophia* in an undefined sense, applicable to either "internal" or "external".[4] It refers to spiritual practices, such as inner quiet and inner attention. Yet through these practices one seeks to gain purification of the soul and thereby illumination and finally union with God. Sometimes Greek Fathers used the term *philosophia* to denote the ascetic life.[5] St Gregory of Nazianzus, in particular, calls monastic life "the greatest philosophy".[6] By *philosophia* St Clement of Alexandria asserts: "I do not mean the Platonic, or the Aristotelian, or the Stoic, or the Epicurean but whatever has been said by each of these sects which teach righteous-

1. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 306: "Les Grecs de Byzance, quand ils invoquent si volontiers la *paideia,* sont-ils légitimes épigones, ou bien des usurpateurs?"
2. S. Runciman, *Byzantine Style and Civilization* (London, 1975), 118 ff.
3. B.N. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris, 1949), 137 f.; cf. C.G. Niarchos, *God, the World and Man in the Philosophy of John Italus* (unpublished by D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1978), 8-23; C. Cavarnos, *Byzantine Thought and Art* (Belmont, 1968), 15-6.
4. P. Stéphanou, *Jean Italos, philosophe et humaniste* (Rome, 1949), 27 f.
5. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini,* IV.26, ed. I. Heikel (Leipzig, 1902), 127; *Demonstratio Evangelii,* I, 8; III.6, ed. I. Heikel (Leipzig, 1913), 39; 133; F.J.A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity, A Course of Lectures* (Cambridge and London, 1894), 121.
6. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* XXV, 4, PG, 35, col. 1204.

ness along with knowledge pervaded by piety; this eclectic whole I call philosophy".[7] St John of Damascus sees many definitions of the term *philosophia* but he interprets it as mainly "the love of wisdom of God".[8] St John is considered as the last of the great Greek Fathers and the first Byzantine philosopher. But the real founder of the new philosophical speculation is Photios, the ninth-century erudite patriarch of Constantinople, who revived classical studies in Byzantium and who, together with Leo the Mathematician and especially Arethas, Metropolitan of Caesarea, established the first Byzantine humanism.[9]

The opening of the University of Constantinople by Patrikios Bardas and the extensive work done within it undoubtedly laid the foundation for philosophical activity, which was continued by considerable classical research, sometimes of substantial originality.[10] It is no longer acceptable to describe the Byzantines simply as the custodians of the ancient tradition.[11] In fact a systematic study of the texts reveals a distinct new dimension in Byzantine philosophy, combined with the accurate use of traditional expressions, to meet the problems raised by contemporary needs.

The eleventh century has been described as a turning point in world history. Far-reaching social changes occurred and in both East and West scholars shared a renewed fascination in the classical world, particularly in philosophy, which was the mainspring of the so-called twelfth-century renaissance.[12] It is noticeable that scholars of the two parts of Christendom argue about nominalism and realism before they define themselves as either Platonists or Aristotelians. Michael Psellos began a long-term period of sometimes endless discussions among the followers of Plato and Aristotle. These discussions were spread among the peoples of the West and substantially contributed to the development of philosophical studies there. In fact this fascination with the classical world was the motivating power behind the

7. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I. 7, ed. L. Früchtel (GCS, Berlin, 1960), 24-5.
8. Cf. John of Damascus, *Dialectica*, I.3 *(Peri philosophias)*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damascus* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 7, Berlin, 1969), 56.
9. Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 149-241, esp. 177-204.
10. *Ibid.*, 159; cf. also, F. Dölger, "Zur Bedeutung von *philosophos* und *philosophia* in byzantinischer Zeit", *Tessarakontaeteris Theophilou Borea*, I (Athens, 1940), 125-36, reprint *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt, 1964), 197-208; L. Benakis, *"He spoude tes Byzantines philosophias, kritike episkopese 1949-1971", Philosophia*, 1 (1971), 390-433; I. Ševčenko, "The definition of philosophy in the *Life* of Saint Constantine", *For Roman Jakobson*, ed. M. Halle and others (The Hague, 1956), 140-8; G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (ByzArch, 15, Munich, 1977), 6-34; H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (Munich, 1978), esp. 4-11.
11. Cf. L. Benakis, *op.cit.*, 390.f.
12. Cf. D. Zakythinos, *Anagennesis kai Anagenneseis* (Athens, 1978), 170 ff; H. Pirenne, *Histoire économique et sociale du Moyen Age*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969); M. Bloch, *La société féodale. La formation des liens de dépendance: L'évolution de l'Humanité* (Paris, 1949), 164 ff; Centre culturel international de Cerisy-La-Salle, *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du 12e siècle sous la direction de Maurice de Candillac et Eduard Jeauneau* (Paris and The Hague, 1968); K.M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance", *PAPS*, 100 (1965), 1-76, esp. 10 f., reprint *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1974).

eleventh- and twelfth-century renaissance. Though the influence exerted upon the whole society by religious thought was tremendous, almost everybody accepted the importance of studying pagan literature, as a complement to religious education.[13] Classical studies, which had been considered almost identical with paganism and were therefore opposed by conservative religious circles, were given fresh encouragement by Psellos and his colleagues. Hellenic learning was now regarded as complementary to religious traditions and even a necessary element in Greek national culture. In previous times classical study in the East had been concerned more with the form than the content of the subject taught. Now the emphasis was to be placed on the essential meaning.[14]

When in 1045 the University of Constantinople reopened, it was the School of Philosophy which was the first to start its courses and to set up the basis for the revival of learning in this period. Psellos remains the predominant figure of the renaissance of letters in the Capital.[15] He persuaded his pupils to acquire mainly philosophical knowledge, "I strove", he writes, "to attain the higher philosophy and to become versed in pure knowledge . . .".[16] Michael Psellos realized the difficulties confronting him; he considered philosophy to be of great importance and tried to combine it with rhetoric into a complementary unit.[17] In doing so he refers back to the Greek orators especially to Dio Chrysostom.[18] But neither philosophy nor rhetoric served any specific purpose. They were simply the means by which the Byzantines studied classical authors. In fact there were few learned men at the time of Psellos, and such as there were stopped short at the portals of Aristotelian philosophy and repeated only the theses of Platonic teaching.[19] Examination of the works of John Mauropous, Michael Psellos and John Italos reveals their effort to infuse a spiritual meaning into classical philosophical terms. Indeed, they created a harmony between the Christian faith and certain aspects of pagan philosophy.

13. Cf. M.V. Anastos, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Influence on Latin Thought. Twelfth century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society", *Proceedings of a Symposium sponsored by the Division of Humanists of the University of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Madison, 1961), 131-87.
14. Cf. R. Browning, "Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Past and Present*, 69 (1975), 3-6.
15. Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853), 21f.; W. Wolska-Conus, "Les Écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque", *TM*, 6 (1976), 223-43.
16. Psellos, *Chronographia*, VI. 38, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926), I, 136; E. Renauld, *Étude de la langue et du style de Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920), 410-1.
17. Psellos, *ep.* 187, ed. K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, V (Paris, 1876), 476; cf. *Chronographia*, VI. 41, ed. Renauld, I, 137 and *Epitaphios eis Niketan maistora tes scholes tou hagiou Petrou*, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.*, V, 88.
18. Cf. C. Zervos, *Un philosophe néoplatonicien du XI^e siècle, Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920), 113 ff.
19. Cf. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1926), 24-35; J. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185*, (Oxford, 1937, reprint New York, 1963), 50-72; E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), 51; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1963), 271.

Psellos even told his pupils that a complete grasp of Greek concepts was essential for full Christian comprehension; and that, conversely, Greek thought should always be understood in the spirit of revealed Christian faith.[20] Psellos went further to consider philosophy of less importance than the Holy Scriptures.[21] But in many cases philosophy was understood as the only way to achieve truth in both secular and religious fields, especially when it was used according to the example of the great Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. John Mauropous stressed the affinity between the ethics of Plato and Christ, claiming that Plato was a Christian in all essentials.[22] Yet Plato was called divine and one could easily understand him through the works of St Gregory the Theologian. So Psellos is convinced that one should not hesitate to study the classics and in his letter to John Xiphilinos underlines that such studies need not corrupt the purity of the revealed truth: "The process of reasoning, my friend, is neither contrary to the dogma of the Church nor alien to philosophy, but it is indeed the only instrument of truth and the only means of finding that which we seek".[23]

The view that Christian faith was not incompatible with at least some pagan doctrines was inherited by most of the eleventh-century thinkers, who followed the example of the Patriarch Photios and considered philosophy to be no longer the handmaid of theology, which was an innovation in the thinking of Byzantine scholars.[24] Psellos does not hesitate to emphasize the superiority of the Bible over most philosophical books, but he also keeps a balance between profane and religious learning.[25] On the other hand he was accused of being too "Greek".[26] To answer this accusation Psellos says that top priority must be given to the official Church doctrine, to practical morality and legitimate scientific research.[27]

20. W. Wolska-Conus, *art.cit.*, 223 and 241 f.
21. Psellos, *ep.* 175, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.*, V, 444.
22. John Mauropous, poem 43, *On Plato and Plutarch*, ed. P. Lagarde, *AbhGöttingen*, 28, (1882), 24.
23. "...τὸ μὲν συλλογίζεσθαι, ἀδελφέ, οὔτε δόγμα ἐστὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριον, οὔτε θέσις τις τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν παράδοξος, ἀλλ' ἤ μόνον ὄργανον ἀληθείας καὶ ζητουμένου πράγματος εὕρεσις." Psellos, *ep.* 175, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.*, V, 447.
24. Cf. Photius, *Amphilochia*, PG, 101, cols. 760A-811A.
25. "Ἐγὼ γὰρ πολλὰς μὲν φιλοσόφους βίβλους ἀνέπτυξα...ἀλλὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν θεόληπτον ἡμῶν συγκρίνας Γραφὴν, τὴν καθαράν τε καὶ στίλβουσαν καὶ τῷ ὄντι δόκιμον, ὑπόχαλκον καὶ κιβδηλείας εὖρον μεστά..." Psellos, *ep.* 175, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.*, V, 444.
26. Sathas, *op.cit.*, IV (Paris and Athens, 1874), lxviii.
27. Cf. J. Gouillard, "La religion des Philosophes", *TM*, 6 (1976), 305-24.

Next we must consider what influences were exerted upon the eleventh-century thinkers by the classical philosophers. St John of Damascus and the Patriarch Photios were the champions of Aristotelianism, the philosophical movement which dominated the minds of most of the thinkers of the following centuries. Aristotelianism was rather played down by Psellos, who inaugurated the study of Plato at the Imperial University.[28] But Psellos' admiration for Plato aroused suspicion in conservative circles, who rejected his acceptance of Plato as a "forerunner" of Christianity,[29] especially such doctrines as the pre-existence of the soul, the eternity of ideas, the uncreated matter, and so on, which led their holders astray from official dogmas. This was also one of the main accusations brought against John Italos by the Synod of 1082 in Constantinople. Italos was finally condemned as a heretic.[30]

The principal aim of philosophy was to enable men to understand better human life and its problems. The student of philosophy at the University was taught Plato, Plotinus and Proclus as well as Aristotle. After the preparatory stage he was led to the problems of metaphysics and finally to theology, the so called "first philosophy".[31] The attractiveness of the classical tradition caused much trouble to certain Byzantines. The Patriarch Keroularios was too much devoted to pagan learning. Even the Platonist Psellos accused Keroularios *ep hellenismo kai chaldaismo*. By the term "hellenism" the Byzantines meant paganism and by the term "chaldaism" meant the Neoplatonic doctrines of theurgy.[32] Representing the Aristotelian spirit, John Xiphilinos strongly challenged the Platonism of Psellos, who insisted that his devotion to Plato posed no threat to his Christian belief.[33] On the other hand, Psellos accused Xiphilinos as *misoplaton kai misologos*.[34] In the figure of Mauropous we find a unique example of a man who was at the same time administrator, humanist, philosopher, ascetic, poet, blameless in his personal integrity and public reputation. He seems to have been deeply influenced by Plato, Plutarch and others.[35]

Psellos is basically a Platonist, or a Neoplatonist in the sense that the latter is the natural evolution of the former. It is noticeable that Plato's *Republic* and *Timaeus* plus certain Neoplatonic works formed the main list of philosophical themes at the

28. P. Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 176 f; Hunger, *op.cit.*, 11-42.
29. Psellos, *ep.* 175, ed. Sathas, *loc.cit.*
30. Niarchos, *op.cit.*, 51-77, for a detailed examination of the trials of John Italos and the relevant bibliography; see also J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire", *TM*, 2 (1967), 57-9; 188-206.
31. Psellos, *De operatione daemonum*, ed. J.F. Boissonade, (Nuremberg, 1838), 52.
32. L. Bréhier, "Accusation du Patriarche Michel Cérulaire", *REG*, 16 (1903), 375-416; 17 (1904), 35-75; cf. Psellos, *Scripta Minora*, I, eds. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl (Milan, 1936), 232-328.
33. Psellos, *ep.* 175, *loc.cit.*
34. *Ibid.*, 445.
35. See note 22; Hussey, *op.cit.*, 39-41; J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047", *TM*, 6 (1976), 265-303.

University where Psellos taught philosophy.[36] Psellos' Neoplatonism moves away from the interpretation of Pseudo-Dionysius. Actually, he remains a true follower of Proclus and through him he progresses to the deep thoughts of Plotinus and Plato. He is a metaphysician and as such accuses the "Hermes Trismegistus", which fell into the allegorical and magic concepts, of neglecting clear Greek reasoning.[37]

The work done by Plotinus and the Greek Fathers to purify Greek thought from theurgic influences, seems to have been continued by the thinkers of eleventh-century Byzantium. Psellos makes a sharp distinction between the oriental cults and the classical spirit. Both Plato and Aristotle made a careful and eclectic use of these cults and insisted mainly on rational argumentation as the only way to reach truth. Greek rationalism survived in Byzantium and in accordance with Christian faith dominated the intellectual life of most people. One could say that there was a similarity between Christian mystical theology and Neoplatonic philosophy. Discussing cosmological issues Psellos bases his syllogisms on causality, a pure Aristotelian principle of logic. It is discursive reasoning which enables men to reach the truth of things.[38] Hence Psellos and Italos condemned all kinds of apocryphism and magic:[39] the former especially attacks chaldaic teachings as magical and unphilosophical. Despite this general attitude, Psellos remains a real admirer of Proclus' theurgic doctrines. He was a gifted man by nature who studied the whole philosophy of the Greeks.[40]

The influence of Proclus on Byzantine philosophy came largely through Maximos the Confessor and John of Damascus, although he was read by some specifically for the purpose of refuting him. It was the Platonist revival of the eleventh century which brought his works into direct contact with Byzantine scholars.[41]

John Italos derives his philosophical information mainly from Aristotle and the Neoplatonists. He shows special preference for Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus and Damascius, while he omits the works of Plotinus, at least directly.[42] With Italos philosophy became autonomous and he can be regarded as very close to the spirit and manner of the ancient philosophers. His surviving works reveal an organic connexion with classical thought; he paid much attention to reasoning as the only

36. Psellos, *Epitaphios eis Niketan maistora tes scholes tou hagiou Petrou*, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.*, V.93; *idem, Monodia eis Ioannen patrikion homileten autou onta*, eds. Kurtz and Drexl, *op.cit.*, I, 145-54; C. Niarchos, "John Patricios; Psellos in praise of his pupil", *Byzantina* (forthcoming).

37. Psellos, *Eis ton Hermou tou Trismegistou Poimandren*, PG, 122, col. 1153C.

38. Psellos, *ep.* 188, ed. Sathas, V, 477.

39. *Ibid.*, 478; *idem, De op. daemon*, 36-43; cf. J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Psellos et le monde de l'irrationel", *TM*, 6 (1976), 325-49.

40. Psellos, in Bréhier, *art.cit.*, 16, 241 ff; cf. Zervos, *op.cit.*, 195 and note 1.

41. For Proclus' influence see Proclus, *The Elements of Theology*, ed. and trans. E.R. Dodds, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), xxvi-xxxiii; for twelfth-century reaction, see below, Angelou.

42. Cf. P. Ioannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz. I: Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Ioannes Italos* (Ettal, 1956), 16 and note 3; Gouillard, *art.cit.*, 306 ff.

safe way towards the search for truth.[43] The fresh philosophical outlook which John Italos introduced exerted a deep influence upon his contemporaries. Even his known enemy, the historian Anna Komnene, appears to hold typical philosophical doctrines, such as the Platonic Demiurge, the tripartite division of the soul, the *entelecheia* and so on.[44]

At this time it is possible to discern two strains of philosophical thought, namely Platonism and Aristotelianism. Psellos' preference for the Platonic Academy does not necessarily mean that he entirely ignored the Peripatetics; he simply considered Aristotle as a "dark philosopher" and a "bad theologian".[45] It is a significant fact that both Psellos and Italos did not accept blindly the theories of Plato and Aristotle. They often criticized the ideas inherited by them and tried to fit them to the current problems of their era. Psellos, for instance, despite his hesitation towards much of Aristotle's teaching, acknowledged Aristotle as the founder of logic.[46] Yet he criticized Aristotle's confusion over the methods of scientific knowledge.[47] Psellos accuses Aristotle of tackling theological items in too human a manner and suggests that the best way to approach the divine substance is through the intellect alone, and this marks a basic difference between Plato and Aristotle. On the other hand, he tried to prove elsewhere that there is no fundamental divergence between the Academy and the Peripatetics. Aristotle's logic was used as a preparation for Plato's metaphysics. Similar attempts were carried out by Italos and later in the fifteenth century by the last of the Byzantine philosophers, George Gemistos Plethon.

The approach of Italos to the traditional philosophy was eclectic. He made more detailed efforts to expound particular aspects of each philosophical school for its own intrinsic value, without necessarily contrasting it with Christianity. He aimed to form a closer link between Christianity and Neoplatonic concepts through syllogisms, as for example with his theory of procession and reversion within the Holy Trinity.[48] In fact, it was his new methods of studying dogmas which caused suspicion against him in the conservative circles of the Capital.

Italos for his part set much greater value on the *Organon* of Aristotle,[49] while

43. John Italos, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales,* ed. P. Joannou (St PB, 4, Ettal, 1918), 50-63; cf. Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik,* 102.

44. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society,* n.s., 8 (1962), 9-10.

45. Likewise Michael *ho tou Anchialou* calls Aristotle: "the dark sphinx of Stagira . . .", cf. Browning, "Enlightenment", 16 f; *Idem,* "A New Source on Byzantine-Hungarian Relations in the Twelfth Century. The Inaugural Lecture of Michael *ho tou Anchialou* as *hypatos ton philosophon*", *Balkan Studies,* 2 (1961), 189.

46. Psellos, *ep.* 205, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.,* V, 499.

47. *Idem, ep.* 174, ed. Sathas, *op.cit.,* V, 442.

48. Italos, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales,* ed. Joannou, *op.cit.,* 114-7.

49. Cf. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad,* V. 9. 1, ed. B. Leib, II (Paris, 1967), 37; Also F. Masai, *Plethon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris, 1956), 289-97; C. Huit, "Le platonisme à Byzance et en Italie à la fin du Moyen Age", *III^e Congrès Scient. Internationale Catholique* (Brussels, 1894), 293-309.

Psellos refused to go into details of the Peripatetic system, or apply them in a practical way. The Neoplatonism of Psellos is evident throughout his writings and it indicates to a certain extent that Byzantine philosophy was mainly Platonic and Neoplatonic.[50] His *De Omnifaria Doctrina* is an example of the way in which Psellos makes use of Platonic and the Neoplatonic sources, sometimes via the Aeropagitic writings and the works of St Maximos the Confessor. He moves from Plato to the Neoplatonists whenever he needs an alternative solution to his problems, for example he is a Neoplatonist when he discusses the theory of Ideas, since Plato himself did not appear to accept the doctrine that the Ideas exist within the intellect, nor that they are identified with it.[51] Elsewhere Psellos is a pure nominalist. One should note that the quarrel between nominalism and realism occurs simultaneously in both East and West. In fact the Byzantine philosophers never abandoned their belief that knowledge proceeded from the intellect; hence their opposition to any cult of a debased and degrading theurgy.[52] Italos also was quick to refute some Aristotelian doctrines such as the theory on nature; and elsewhere he contributes substantially with new arguments for the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the human body.[53] It indicates his independence of his sources and the attempt to create a fresh philosophical outlook.

To conclude, the eleventh-century revival of learning in Byzantium was mainly sponsored by philosophy, which, far from simply restating or preserving classical thought, followed new directions and successfully tackled specifically contemporary problems. Prior to this period the Byzantines had confined themselves mostly to the harmless study of abstract elements of Plato's dialogues and to the Aristotelian doctrines officially accepted by the Church.[54] A similar attitude was followed in the West where the Aristotelianism of St Thomas Aquinas was the guideline for those who wanted to study philosophy and remain members of the Roman Catholic Church.[55] The Byzantine philosophy of the era of Psellos, though influenced by Christianity, preserved its own identity; for both Psellos and Italos achieved a wide use of traditional Greek philosophical elements that could be assimilated into Christian teaching: Platonic doctrines on the division of reality into the realm of intelligible things or true being and the realm of sensible things; the tripartite division of the soul together with the superiority of the rational part over the others; the classification of the four cardinal virtues (wisdom, courage, temperance and justice),

50. Cf. E. Moutsopoulos, *Philosophikoi Problematismoi II: Anadromai kai anadromeseis* (Athens, 1978), 201 f; Gouillard, *art.cit.*, 306-14.
51. Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*, 202.
52. Psellos, *Peri ton Ideon has ho Platon legei*, ed. L. Benakis, *Philosophia*, 5-6 (1975-6), 421.
53. Cf. Niarchos, *op.cit.*, 250 f.; *Idem*, "Aristotle on Nature and John Italus", *Proceedings of the World Congress on Aristotle, Thessalonike, 1978* (forthcoming).
54. Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*, 202-3; K. Oehler, "Aristotle in Byzantium", *GRBS*, 5 (1964), 133-46.
55. Moutsopoulos, *op.cit.*, 202; cf. also Hunger, *op.cit.*, 42 ff. for the relationship between philosophy and theology in Byzantium and the creation of a Christian humanism.

their unity and the unity of the vices; the view that knowledge is the primary condition of virtue and ignorance is the chief cause of vice. In Aristotle's teaching, Psellos, Italos and others emphasized mainly the doctrine of the Categories (substance, quantity, quality, relation, time, place, etc.); the distinction between matter and form; the theory that virtues and vices are settled dispositions of the soul or habits; and that moral virtue is a mean between two extremes, one of excess and the other of deficiency, both of which are vices.

The Byzantines frequently related knowledge to faith, stressing that knowledge comes from divine illumination, while ignorance is equated with unbelief and evil. Again, though they accepted the Aristotelian distinction between form and matter, they never thought of the soul as being the form of the body; the soul is simply an immaterial substance. Matter is not co-eternal with God (a much debated doctrine in the trial of Italos), but it was created by God *ex nihilo*.

Despite fierce opposition from reactionary circles, philosophy continued to inspire all cultural developments in the centuries that followed. On final reflexion must be to underline the singular contribution of Byzantine philosophy to the reconstruction of the medieval society of the East. Possessing a clear knowledge of the ancient sources, Psellos and his colleagues maintained a close affinity to all classical culture. Humanistic ideas were fully developed and to a certain extent spread to the West to inspire a later Renaissance.

The Midwifery of Michael Psellos: an Example of Byzantine Literary Originality

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A distinctive feature of the Byzantines' imitation of classical literature is the tension between the desire to exhibit a fluent familiarity with ancient models and the compulsion to demonstrate an ability to create new variations of these same models,[1] the tension that is inherent in a work intended to be at the same instant both an immediately recognizable example of classical style and also the personal, self-revelatory document that the Byzantines so frequently, and justifiably, claim their literary productions to be.[2] Artistry, then, is the successful handling of this tension, the resolution of differing but not necessarily conflicting ideals. This is indeed sometimes achieved with singular success and subtlety;[3] but modern taste generally finds fault with the Byzantines on account of their boundless and enthusiastic search for novel and on occasion lengthy and even tortuous variations – that is for excessive addiction to a circumscribed "originality". It is not my present purpose to examine the implications of altered aesthetic criteria: instead let us merely survey in brief, as indicative of one important aspect of Byzantine literary practice, the use made of a single, famous metaphor.

With filial devotion to his mother's profession Socrates claims in the *Theaetetus*, by means of one of the most extended metaphors of classical Greek literature, that his rôle in life is that of midwife.[4] Although himself *agonos sophias* he can diagnose pregnancy, arouse and soothe the pains of labour, facilitate birth, induce miscarriage and even, if necessary, play the match-maker;[5] moreover, in his application of the art not to the bodies of women but to the souls of men he needs also the ability, not required of the female members of his profession, to distinguish between real and imaginary offspring. However, the unhappy conclusion of the

1. See. H. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (WByzSt 1, Vienna, 1964), 17; 58; *idem*, "On the Imitation (*mimesis*) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature", *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-1970), 33.
2. E.g. in the passage from Eustathios quoted below, 138 (see further G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémoniale dans l'épistolographie byzantine* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensia, Uppsala 1962), *passim:* A.R. Littlewood, " 'An Ikon of the Soul': the Byzantine Letter", *Visible Language*, 10 (1976), esp. 216-9; M.E. Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: the Letter", above, 80-81.
3. For a fine example from the tenth century see Littlewood, "A Byzantine Oak and its Classical Acorn: the Literary Artistry of Geometres, Progymnasmata I", *JÖB*, 29 (1980), 133-44.
4. Plato, *Tht*, 148e-151e with frequent scattered allusions thereafter.
5. In recommending his patients to other philosophers.

Theaetetus and Socrates' self-proclaimed superiority over all other men in the recognition of his own mental sterility[6] do suggest that this ruthless midwife not only never attended a live birth but did not even expect to do so. Nevertheless the metaphor itself, which in essence must go back to the historical Socrates since it is parodied by Aristophanes (*Nubes,* 137-9), did beget a technical term perhaps born to and certainly fostered by Thrasyllus of Alexandria, confidant of the emperor Tiberius: he ascribes *Alcibiades I* and *II, Theages, Lysis* and *Laches* to the class of "obstetric dialogues".[7] Thus, following him, Proclus in his commentary on the first of these dialogues uses *maieia,* or a cognate word, no fewer than thirty-six times in the sense of a dialectical tool, parallel with exhortation and refutation, that "elicits" information from the respondent in order to advance and distinguish between truth and falsehood.[8]

The metaphor begat also discussions, most notably that to which Plutarch gives pride of place in his *Platonicae Quaestiones* (*Mor.* 999c-1000e), and a host of imitations. Of these the one that comes closest to the *Theaetetus* in philosophical rather than literary descent is a passage of Philo Judaeus: here the wise man is both midwife and judge (ὁ μαιευτικὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δικαστικὸς ἀνήρ) and "observes the offspring of each man's soul, throwing away those not worth saving but preserving" the rest.[9] Other writers tend to be more attracted by the literary imagery and the scope that it gives them for their own variations. It is not, of course, unreasonable to suppose that metaphorical instances of *maieuein* need not always be due to Plato's example, especially since *odinein* is used in other than its strictly literal meaning as early as Homer[10] (although Plato is again the first writer to use it of mental labour).[11] However, context or wording usually suggest that Plato at first or second hand is the inspiration of later writers. One example does indeed seem to offer no Platonic reminiscence. In his homily on the birth of John the Baptist Ps.-Theodoret follows the usual account: Zachariah is struck dumb for doubting the word of Gabriel, but upon recovering his powers of speech at the infant's circumcision he breaks into the *Benedictus,* or *Canticle of Zachariah,* which

6. Plato, *Apol.*, 21d-e. Cf. *idem, Tht.* 150c-d.
7. Diogenes Laertius, *De Clarorum Philosophorum Vitis,* III, 49; 51; 59. The *maieutikos* is a subdivision of the *gymnastikos,* itself a subdivision of the *zetetikos.*
8. Proclus, *Commentary on the First Alcibiades* 8.1-3; 8.16ff; 238.18ff, ed. L.G. Westerink (Amsterdam, 1954), 4; 110. A residual metaphorical meaning may be understood at 155.21-156.1; 214.11, *ibid.*, 71; 99. Proclus himself was given the "tutelary deity of Byzantium" as a metaphorical midwife by his biographer Marinus, *Vita Procli,* VI, ed. J.F. Boissonade, Appendix to Diogenes Laertius, *op.cit.*, ed. C.G. Cobet (Paris, 1850), 154.
9. Philo, *Quis Rer. Div. Her.*, 50.247. Most of Philo's other allegorical references to midwives arise rather from *Exodus* I, 15-22 than from the *Theaetetus* (see index in L. Cohn, P. Wendland, S. Reiter, J. Leisegang, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae Supersunt,* VII, Berlin, 1926-30), s.vv. μαῖα, μαιευτικός.
10. Homer, *Od.* IX 415 of the agony of the blinded Polyphemos.
11. Plato, *Tht.*, 148e etc. It is very common in Philo (see index s.vv. ὠδίνειν, ὠδῖς), one of whose passages offers a new obstetrical metaphor – the mind in labour with its thoughts can give birth only through the midwifery of the organs of speech (*Quod Det. Pot.Insid. Sol.* 34, 127f.).

Ps.-Theodoret poetically describes as τῆς μυστηριώδους αὐτοῦ σιωπῆς ἀγαθόν, ὡς εἰκός, μαίευμα (PG, 84, col. 44C). Even here, however, it must be noted that the very rare word μαίευμα ("that which is brought to birth by the midwife") is not recorded before Plato's *Theaetetus.*[12]

An isopsephic poem from the first century A.D. by Leonidas of Alexandria manifests at least a superficial knowledge of Plato. Inveighing against false astrologers he declares: ὑμέας ἀφροσύνη μαιώσατο, τόλμα δ' ἔτικτεν (*Anth. Pal.* IX.80.3). In contrast with this classical restraint two much later instances show well the Byzantine flair for elaboration.[13] Thus Theophylact, archbishop of Ochrid, asking help of Niketas, a former pupil: ἀποδειλιάσεις οὖν καὶ ἀπαγορεύεις τὴν οὕτω ῥᾳδίαν βοήθειαν; ἀλλ' οὕτω γ' ἂν καταισχύναις καὶ τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ λόγου[14] καὶ τὴν ἀπότευξιν καὶ τὴν μαίευσιν καὶ θρέψιν ἐκείνην, ὅσην τε ἐν γάλαξι καὶ ὅσην ἐν στερεωτέραις τροφαῖς ἐποιήσατο (PG, 126, col. 420C). Again Eustathios, Bishop of Thessalonike, in offering a graphic and typically Byzantine declaration of the inestimable value of the written word, places the Platonic embryo in a different environment: ὁ δέ γε ἐν σωματίοις κείμενος λόγος οὐκέθ' ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου προάγεται στόματι, οὐδ' ἐν ἑτέρων χείλεσι διακινδυνεύεται· ἀλλ' ἔστι ψυχῆς τῆς ἐπιστειλάσης ἄντικρυς κύημα, τοῦ δὲ ὑποδεξαμένου κώδικος μαίευμα σπαργανοῦντος οἷον αὐτόν, καὶ οἷος ἐξέφυ περιφυλάττοντος, καὶ τῷ φίλῳ παρακομίζοντος ὡς εἰκόνα τοῦ στείλαντος.[15]

For more extended use of Plato's metaphor we must turn to two authors thoroughly imbued in Platonism (or, in the first case, at least Neoplatonism). In his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* Ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite divides Christians and potential Christians into three categories – monks, baptized and catechumens. It is these last, lying uninitiated in the womb of darkness, who are being given birth and brought into the light of Christian life through the midwifery of the Church and its teachings. The principal passage on this theme is, despite its length, worth quoting

12. 160e (σὸν μέν...νεογενὲς παίδιον, ἐμὸν δὲ μαίευμα). Another instance of the word occurs in the passage of Eustathios, *loc.cit.*

13. Loss of the context unfortunately prevents us from knowing whether George of Pisidia indulged in further elaboration, for the *Souda* (s.v. μαιεύεται) preserves only the words, μαιεύεται δὲ πᾶν τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης γένος, καὶ σοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐκπιέζον ὡς γάλα (fr. 118).

14. This phrase, although traceable back to the *Theaetetus,* is more closely paralleled by Himerius, *Orationes,* lxiv.3, ed. A. Colonna (Rome, 1951), 231 = *Declamationes,* xxxii. 3, ed. F. Dubner (Paris, 1849), 84. On the subject-matter, see above, note 2.

15. Eustathios, *ep.* 19, ed. T.L.F. Tafel, *Opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1832, reprint Amsterdam, 1964), 325, lines 35-9 = PG, 136, col. 1274D.

almost in full in order to show the wide range of words, both from the *Theaetetus* and from Christian literature, that are chosen to prolong the imagery:

...εἰσι γὰρ ἀμέθεκτοι καὶ ἀμύητοι παντὸς ἱεραρχικοῦ τελεστηρίου, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ θείαν ἀπότεξιν ἔνθεον ἐσχηκότες ὕπαρξιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὸς τῶν πατρικῶν λογίων μαιευόμενοι, καὶ ζωοποιοῖς μορφώμασι διαπλαττόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκ θεογενεσίας ἀρχίζωον καὶ ἀρχίφωτον καὶ μακαρίαν προσαγωγήν. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἀμόρφωτα προεκπέσοι τὰ κατὰ σάρκα βρέφη τῆς οἰκείας μαιεύσεως, ὡς ἀμβλωθρίδια καὶ ἐκτρώματα, τὴν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄζωον καὶ ἀφώτιστον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπόπτωσιν ἔξει, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις εὐφρονῶν εἴποι, πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀποσκοπῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτὰ προαχθῆναι, τοῦ κατὰ γαστέρα σκότους ἀπαλλαγέντα·...οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ πάνσοφος ἐπιστήμη πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς τῇ τῶν μορφωτικῶν καὶ ζωοποιῶν λογίων εἰσαγωγικῇ τροφῇ μαιεύεται, τελεσφορήσασα δὲ τὴν πρὸς θεογενεσίαν αὐτῶν ὑπόστασιν, ἐνδίδωσι σωτηρίως αὐτοῖς ἐν τάξει τὴν πρὸς τὰ φωτοειδῆ καὶ τελεσιουργικὰ κοινωνίαν· νῦν δὲ ὡς ἀτελέστων ἀποδιαστέλλει τὰ τέλεια, τῆς τε εὐκοσμίας τῶν ἱερῶν προμηθουμένη, καὶ τῆς τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐν θεοειδεῖ τῶν ἱεραρχικῶν τάξει μαιεύσεως καὶ ζωῆς

(3.3.6 = PG, 3, cols. 432D-3B). Only the application of the metaphor to this Christian context is truly original. Even the sentence on abortive and untimely birth is based upon Socrates' statement that "those who have left [me]sooner than they should . . . have miscarried . . . and through bad nursing have lost the offspring that I brought to birth".[16] The fact that on three subsequent occasions Ps.-Dionysios sees fit to emphasize the "obstetrical" role of Scripture, Church and diaconate in bringing the catechumens to birth[17] suggests that he was truly enamoured of the basic metaphor: indeed when Theodore of Stoudios informs us of Ps.-Dionysios' categories he terms the last *hoi maieuomenoi,* relegating their real name of catechumens to a parenthetical explanation (*Ep.* 2.165, PG, 99, col. 1524C).

16. Plato, *Tht.,* 150e. Plato uses verbs for miscarriage, but the phrase *amblothridia kai ektromata* is found at Philo, *Leg. Alleg.,* 1.24.76, which is itself inspired by the *Theaetetus.*

17. Ps.-Dionysios, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia,* IV.3.3.; V.1.6; VI.1.1., PG, 3, cols. 476D-7A: 508B; 532A-B.

It was inevitable that Michael Psellos should embrace the imagery. His familiarity with Plato is discernible on most pages of his works, both philosophical and non-philosophical (even his encomia of vermin are not immune);[18] the opuscula he addressed to his students[19] make clear that he conceived of himself as to some extent a latter-day Socrates; his medical knowledge and interests were remarkable even in eleventh-century Byzantium for one not a professional physician, and are demonstrated most vividly not by his medical writings in both prose and verse but by his insertion into a short disquisition on fraternal affection (addressed to Nikephoros and Constantine, former pupils and the nephews of the patriarch Michael Keroularios[20]) of a passage[21] describing in technical language and detail the attachments of the embryo in the womb and the manner of birth – this as part of an argument on the effect on individuals of an identical environment.

Our Platonic metaphor is employed by Psellos in four of his rhetorical opuscula.[22] Although accurate dating is in no case possible, the decade beginning in the late 1040s will probably cover the time of composition of all four works.

In one passage Psellos merely paraphrases rather than elaborates upon Plato, for he claims that in his combination of natural charm and seriousness he is the envied contemporary model, comparable with Socrates of old "who indeed both jests that he delivers young men and makes his mother, the burly Phainarete, a midwife".[23] The other three passages are of greater literary interest.

The piece entitled *Encomium of (John) Italos*[24] is addressed by Psellos to his students. After not uncritically praising Italos he states that he will embrace all their νεογιλὰ τῶν λόγων γεννήματα , for their birth was due to him as a grandfather (*propator*) who does not hate the offspring however deformed they may be in head or limbs, ὑποδέξομαι γὰρ ἡδέως τὸ ὀλισθῆσαν καὶ τῇ μαιείᾳ τοῦ λόγου ἐπιχειρήσω καὶ πλυνῶ μὲν αὐτίκα διαπλάσομαί τε, πῶς ἂν εἴποιτε τεχνικῶς. καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ τύχῃ τὸ παρεκνεῦσαν ἀσπάσομαί τε καὶ διεστραμμένως ἔχον.

18. Michael Psellos, *De Operatione Daemonum*, ed. J.F. Boissonade (Nuremberg 1838, reprint Amsterdam, 1964), 73-8; 78-84; 85-91; 91-5.
19. *Ibid.*, 131-5; 135-9; 140-4; 144-7; 147-153; eds. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli Scripta Minora*, I (Milan, 1936), 50-54. A seventh piece (which I am preparing for publication) is preserved in cod. Vat. gr. 672, fols. 180v-184v.
20. On their careers see N. Oikonomides, "Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067): un épisode de l'histoire dynastique de Byzance", *REB*, 21 (1963), 119 ff.
21. K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, V (Venice and Paris, 1876), 517, lines 9-26.
22. I have by no means surveyed the whole Psellan corpus, but the following examples should adequately illustrate his method.
23. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 16, Munich, 1973), 267, lines 189-91. In this piece Psellos is defending himself against his detractors.
24. Eds. Kurtz and Drexl, *loc.cit.* The "obstetric" passage appears at 54, lines 2-27.

We may note two main differences between this passage and the *Theaetetus:* first Psellos eschews Socrates' ruthlessness; second he offers us the improbable spectacle of a grandfather playing the midwife. These variations may be easily explained. Although Psellos wishes to emphasize his similarity to Socrates, yet the nature of the offspring is not quite the same and Psellos' more regular and responsible connexion with his students does indeed make their productions, which in any case it would be bad pedagogy to condemn completely, his own metaphorical grandchildren. These variations are dictated also by Psellos' desire to tell a story from antiquity that is otherwise, I believe, unattested. He avers that he is not less loving towards his offspring than a certain Athenian lady whose father, unwilling that she should become a mother, planned to have her infant promptly destroyed. The midwife carried out his wishes in a novel way, for at the very moment of birth she substituted a snake for the child. This bizarre plan, however, miscarried when the gallant lady declared, Ἀλλά μοι, μαμμίδιον, τὸν ὄφιν... περίθαλπε ἔχομαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὡς ψυχῆς. Psellos ends by claiming that he too is a child-loving Athenian, ψυχικαῖς γὰρ ὠδῖσιν ἐγεννησάμην ὑμᾶς καὶ φιλῶ τὰ ὑμέτερα βρέφη τῶν λόγων, ἃ δήποτε καὶ ἀνδρωθεῖεν καὶ βραχίοσιν ἰσχύσαιεν καρτεροῖς. ἀλλά μοι τέως γεννᾶτε· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀκμάσοι μὴ γεννηθέν.

Psellos returns to the theme at great length in a work chiding two students for squabbling with each other.[25] He bids them "remember that midwifery of mine through which in Socratic manner τὰς ὠδῖνας ὑμῖν τῶν λόγων ἔλυον" and reminds them that he has already promised (presumably in the encomium of John Italos) to cherish healthy offspring and cure the deformed. A catalogue of deformed monstrosities leads him to the reason for their appearance – hasty composition, or, to keep Psellos' metaphor, a leporine fecundity (this fault he illustrates with the story of Apelles who reacted to another painter's boasting that he had painted a certain picture in one night with the crushing rejoinder that it was surprising that he had not managed to complete many such pictures in that time).[26] After some advice on composition that reverts to the human imagery already established by the obstetric metaphor Psellos closes the work with the repeated promise that he will cure the deformed: ἀλλὰ μῶν προσεπλασάμην τὰ λείποντα τῶν μελῶν καὶ τὴν κόρσην ἐπὶ μέσην μετήνεγκα τὴν κεφαλήν; ἢ ἔτι τὰ νεογιλὰ ὑποσκάζει τῷ πόδε καὶ τὴν στάσιν οὐ πάνυ θαρρεῖ; τέως μὲν οὖν διηρθρώσθω ἡ κεφαλή· πάντως γὰρ καὶ τοῖς διεστραμμένοις ἑτέροις μέλεσι τὴν ἴασιν ἀποδώσομεν.

25. Boissonade, *op.cit.*, 131-5. The "obstetric" passage appears at 133, lines 21-135, line 17.
26. Cf. Plut., *De Educ. Lib.* 9 (*Mor.* 7a). For Psellos the hero is Timotheos rather than Apelles.

In our last passage Psellos expresses amazement to the nephews of Keroularios that they value his literary efforts more highly than those of the ancients. He concludes that it must be due to spiritual affinity that they embrace his "abortive child" (*amblothridion*).[27] Considering, then, his own rather than his students' offspring Psellos, through Socratic irony, at last approaches the ruthlessness of his archetypal midwife.

27. Sathas, *op.cit.*, 514, lines 4-9. Two other passages are worth citing although they are not strictly "obstetric": Psellos claims that he fathered his students *tais logikais odisi* (Boissonade, *op.cit.*, 144, lines 19ff.), just as he was himself fathered by Plato and Aristotle (*ibid.*, 146, lines 1-3).

Nicholas of Methone: the Life and Works of a Twelfth-Century Bishop

ATHANASSIOS ANGELOU

Nicholas, bishop of Methone, belongs to the Comnene era: he is the leading theologian of the age which followed that of Eustratios of Nicaea.[1] We know almost nothing of his life or education except the few inferences we can draw from his own writings. He was a learned theologian to whom court dignitaries addressed questions (with the Emperor Manuel Komnenos on one occasion actually acting as an intermediary), a bishop trusted enough by the same emperor to be the quasi-official opponent of all heretics of the day; an educated man so well-versed in dialectic as to dare undertake a detailed refutation of the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus.

In 1859 the famous forger Constantine Simonides came up with another of his stories; this time it was the life of Nicholas of Methone in great detail accompanied by a sketch-portrait![2] He named as his source a manuscript *pentabiblos* about illustrious Athonites written by Stephanos the Athenian, an author of whom we know only the following: Στεφάνης (Simonides changed it to Stephanos) Ἀθηναῖος ἱερομόναχος. Ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος ἱκανῶς τὴν τε...θεολογίαν καὶ τὴν...φιλοσοφίαν. Συνέγραψε διάφορα συγγραμμάτια (Simonides changed them to συγγράμματα) οἷς οὔπω ἐνετύχομεν.[3] This obscure notice provided Simonides with the opportunity for a forgery. He would cite a book no one, except himself, had ever seen!

It is clear that Nicholas did not live beyond the year 1166 as the acts of the synod of 1166 published by Mai[4] do not contain his signature. The last we hear of

1. The first scholar who realized his importance for the intellectual life of the twelfth century was C. Ullmann, "Nicolaus von Methone, Euthymius Zigabenus und Nicetas Choniates, oder die dogmatische Entwickelung der griechischen Kirche im 12. Jahrhundert", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* 6 (1833), 647-743. Very little work has been done on him since the famous controversy concerning the real authorship of his *magnum opus,* the *Anaptyxis.* For a recent article see G. Podskalsky, "Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz, (11/12 Jh.)", *OCP,* 42 (1976), 509-23.
2. C. Simonides, *Orthodoxon Hellenon theologikai graphai tessares* (London, 1859), Cf. J. Dräseke, "Zu Nikolaos von Methone", *ZWTh,* 41 (1898), 402-11.
3. Demetrios Prokopios, *De Eruditis Graecis,* 36, ed. I.A. Fabricius and G.C. Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca,* XI (Hamburg, 1790, reprint Hildesheim, 1966-7), 532.
4. A. Mai ed., *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticanis Codicibus,* IV (Rome, 1831), 1-96. Leo Allatius in *De ecclesiae occident. et orient. perpet. consens.* (Cologne, 1648), 690 wrongly includes Nicholas bishop of Methone's name among the signatories of the Synod.

him is when he wrote a *logos epinikios* celebrating the emperor Manuel Komnenos as a second Constantine for his victory over the heretics in the theological controversy of 1156-57.[5]

His *magnum opus* is called *Anaptyxis tes theologikes Stoicheioseos Proklou platonikou philosophou.* Proclus' work is written *more geometrico* in theorems accompanied by proofs.[6] Nicholas wrote a refutation of every theorem except the last thirteen concerning the soul. He does not always attack his adversary with dogmatic weapons but tries to rebut him on grounds of inconsistency. This work, so significant for the intellectual life of the Comnene period, is unfortunately available in a practically unreadable edition by the Demosthenes scholar J. Th. Vömel as the fourth part of *Initia Philosophiae ac Theologiae ex platonicis Fontibus ducta* (Frankfurt, 1825). Vömel chose the worst manuscript (Lugdunensis B.P. graec. 4) as the basis of the text and tried to correct it in the notes, using variants from other late Renaissance copies. I am preparing a new critical edition of the *Anaptyxis* based on the collation of all available manuscripts, eleven in number. It will be published in the "Series Byzantina" of the "Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi".

The *terminus post quem* for this work is the death of Eustratios of Nicaea who is, according to Nicholas, τὶς τῶν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν [7] and who is referred to in the *Anaptyxis* as *sophotatos martys* (i.e. of truth). The *terminus ante quem* is the year 1159. It is in this year that Nicholas wrote his last dated work.[9] He addressed it to the Emperor himself, congratulating him on his victory over the heretics and apologising for not coming to Constantinople to take part in the proceedings against Soterichos Panteugenos. He said he was too old and too cold (*geron kai katepsygmenos*), too ill to face the prospect of a trip from Methone round Cape Maleas to Constantinople. No subsequent synod records his name and no work of his survives which deals with the controversy of the mid-sixties (Pater maior). It is hard to imagine that Nicholas wrote such a polemical work, attacking the Proclomania of learned Constantinopolitans, cut off from the place where polemics raged, in advanced age and in bad health. Therefore, I think on these grounds that we should regard 1159 as the *terminus ante quem.*

There are no twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Anaptyxis.* All we have from Byzantine times are three manuscripts of the early or mid-fourteenth century: Vaticanus gr. 626, Ambrosianus gr. 648 (+ 727) and Parisinus 1256. I have collated all manuscripts including those from the late Renaissance. Ludgunensis B.P. graec. 23 is a copy of Vaticanus 626 as is evident not only from the scribe's own words but also from the collation itself. All the other Renaissance copies are

5. B.G. Aleses, "Episkopikoi Katalogoi tes Ekklesias tes Hellados ap'arches mechri semeron", Ἐκκ. Φαρ. 57 (1975), 112-3 is guilty of a grave error in giving the dates of Nicholas of Methone's episcopate as 1160-1190. This assertion is totally without foundation.
6. The best edition is by E.R. Dodds (Oxford, 1963).
7. A Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Leipzig, 1865), 309.
8. *Anaptyxis,* ed. Vömel, 123.
9. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Nik.Ep. Methones logoi duo* (Leipzig, 1865), 1-46. While the book was in press, I was able to date this work more closely; see my forthcoming PhD thesis (London, 1981).

direct copies of either the Ambrosianus or the Parisinus codex and have very little, if any, value at all for the reconstruction of the text.

There seem to have been two slightly different recensions of the text, the one embodied in the Vaticanus 626, the other in the Ambrosianus 648 and Parisinus 1256 (both manuscripts belong to the same family but are independent of each other). The second version could perhaps be called an interpolated recension, because it is characterized by the presence of some marginalia usually schematizing the concepts involved in the refutation, notes and doublets, which must have once belonged to the margins but which had been at some stage introduced into the text disturbing its coherence and making it at some points repetitive.

What Vömel published under Nicholas' name as *Eroteseis kai Apokriseis,*[10] which is nothing but extracts from Theodore of Raithu and a pseudo-Justinianic work, is not a genuine work of Nicholas. It was appended at the end of the *Anaptyxis* in the subarchetype of the second family without any indication of author or even *tou autou* and seems to have been part of the interpolated recension of the *Anaptyxis* together with the marginalia, the notes and the doublets.

In the past the authorship of the *Anaptyxis* has aroused controversy. It all began with A. Mai, who published a fragment from codex Vaticanus 1096 with the title *Ek ton eis ta tou Proklou theologika kephalaia antirreseon Prokopiou Gazes antirresis kephalaiou CXLVI.*[11] Demetrios Roussos identified this fragment with chapter 146 of the *Anaptyxis.*[12] Dräseke went so far as to accuse the pious bishop of unabashed and wholesale plagiarism and declared that the real author was Procopius of Gaza.[13] He was attacked by various scholars including E.R. Dodds in his edition of Proclus' *Elements of Theology.*[14] The controversy is not really alive any more. I hope to add some more arguments to the list in defence of Nicholas' authorship based on a comparative linguistic study of Procopius and Nicholas as well as arguments drawn from textual criticism.

Next a rapid preliminary review of a number of the minor works, which I intend to publish in one volume under the title *Scripta Minora.* First in chronological order comes his main anti-Latin treatise: *Pros tous Latinous peri tou hagiou Pneumatos hoti ek tou Patros ou men kai ek tou Huiou to Pneuma to hagion ekporeuetai.*[15] Dräseke dated this work around the year 1136, when Anselm, bishop of Havelberg

10. J. Th. Vömel, "Nicolai Methonis Anecdoti", *Examina Solemnia Gymnasii Francofurtensis* (Frankfurt, 1825), 3-34 and (1826), 2-28.
11. A. Mai ed., *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis Codicibus Editorum,* IV (Rome, 1831), 274-5.
12. D. Roussos, *Treis Gazaioi* (Constantinople, 1893), 69.
13. J. Dräseke, "Prokopios' von Gaza 'Widerlegung des Proklos' ", *BZ,* 6 (1897), 55-91.
14. E.R. Dodds, *op.cit.,* xxxi; J. Stiglmayr, "Die 'Streitschrift des Prokopios von Gaza' gegen den Neuplatoniker Proklos", *BZ,* 8 (1899), 266-301; G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Vatican, 1931), 264-6.
15. Ed. Simonides, *op.cit.,* 1-39.

visited Constantinople.[16] A second work devoted to the same controversy is in fact, as the subtitle itself indicates in cod. Monacensis 66,[17] a synopsis of anti-Latin arguments drawn from Photios. We may consider it as a companion volume to the first in that it provides the traditional frame of reference for Nicholas' own exposition. It had the honour of being accepted by Niketas Choniates in his dogmatic panoply *Thesauros Orthodoxias.* When a friend of the bishop asked Nicholas for a copy of his books against the Latins, the bishop, having none, composed from memory a summary and sent it to his friend. This is known as *Apomnemoneumata,* his third and last anti-Latin treatise.[18] Nicholas' anti-Latin works continued to be copied well into the post-Byzantine era. We usually find them in miscellanies, sometimes paraphrased or even translated into demotic Greek, together with earlier similar polemicists, like Eustratios of Nicaea, or with contemporary and later ones, e.g. Neilos Kabasilas and Basil Achridenos, who were both metropolitans of Thessalonike.

Another early work of his belongs to the hagiographical genre. One of the most important saints of the eleventh century is St Meletios the Younger, who died in 1105. Two sources for his life survive. One was written by Theodore Prodromos, the other by Nicholas. The second one was written, as the author himself says, thirty-six years after the saint's death, that is in 1141.[19]

Another of his writings, concerning the holy Eucharist,[20] enjoyed wide popularity in the West at the time of the Reformation and is found in a number of manuscripts together with similar works of the Greek Fathers. It was the first work of Nicholas to be published and it is still the only one which has been translated into another Western language (in Latin and in French). The occasion for this work arose probably in connexion with the Bogomil heresy and in particular with the Nephon affair.

A reference to the Bogomils is contained in another work of his, which Nicholas wrote in defence of Manuel Komnenos' choice of Nicholas Mouzalon as Patriarch in place of the deposed, (allegedly) philobogomile Kosmas Attikos.[21] It must have been written shortly after the election of Mouzalon (in 1147 or 1148). It contains

16. J. Dräseke, "Nikolaos von Methone", *BZ,* 1 (1892), 458-9.
17. *Elenchoi Kephalaiodeis tou para Latinois kainophanous dogmatos tou hoti to pneuma to hagion ek tou Patros kai tou huiou proerchetai synopsisthentes ek ton dia platous to hagiotato Photio en diaphorois logois autou gegrammenon*, cf. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica,* 359-80, without the subtitle.
18. Ed. Bishop Arsenij Ivaščenko (Moscow, 1892).
19. *"Bios tous hosiou patros hemon Meletiou tou en to orei tes Muoupoleos askesantos"*, ed. C. Papadopoulos, *Symbolai eis ten historian tou monachikou biou en Helladi,* II, (Athens, 1935), 34-66. Cf. the Introduction by C. Papadopoulos.
20. *Pros tous distazontas kai legontas hoti ho hierourgoumenos artos kai oinos ouk esti soma kai haima tou Kyriou hemon Iesou Christou,* PG, 135, cols. 509-14. French translation: Traicté . . . à ceux qui doubtent et dient que le pain et le vin consacrez ne sont pas le corps et le sang de nostre Seigneur Jesu-Christ, in W. van der Lindt (successively bishop of Roermond, and Ghent), *Recueil d'aucunes mensonges de Calvin* (Paris, 1561), 90-6.
21. *Peri tes epi te katastasei tou Patriarchou antilogias kai peri hierarchias,* ed. Demetrakopoulos, *op.cit.,* 266-92. For Bogomils, see 267, for Mouzalon, 278.

an address to the Emperor and a fictionalized dialogue with the opponents of the imperial policy. In the introduction Nicholas attacks the widespread tendency to bring about *kainotomiai,* and *metabolai,* referring specifically to the opposition against Mouzalon but probably hitting also at a wider target.

To the Soterichos Panteugenos affair (1156-1157) Nicholas devoted three works. The first[22] was written before the synod of 1157, while the second[23] reiterates most of the arguments of the first but this time in a panegyrical tone, because it is addressed to the emperor himself after the session of May 13, 1157.

John Axouch, the Grand Domestic, had asked Nicholas before the second crusade a question concerning the Holy Spirit, arising from the interpretation of a passage in Gregory of Nazianzus: Why can the Apostles not be called "Christs"? The bishop had answered him off-hand but he promised to write an essay on the subject and send it to the Grand Domestic. The emperor himself, acting as an intermediary, urged Nicholas to give a written answer. But the course of events, ἡ ἔφοδος τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν , namely the Second Crusade, engaged the attention of both the emperor and the Domestic. When the crusade was over (ca. 1147), Nicholas thought he now had the liberty to engage their attention with a special treatise on the subject.[24]

Another person of high standing, περιφανέστατος τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐχ ἧττον τὴν ἐντὸς ἢ τὴν ἔξωθεν had asked Nicholas whether there is a *horos* to human life and death. He had read a *makra adoleschia* on the subject where *aoristia* was defended, which he handed to the bishop for refutation. He wanted the bishop to provide him with the arguments to fight *aoristia.* Nicholas came back to the same subject twice, producing two companion volumes, one adducing *graphikai martyriai* to support his viewpoint and another using a *reductio ad absurdum.*[25]

Just when the Panteugenos controversy had ignited, probably shortly before the convocation of the 1156 synod, Nicholas wrote another small treatise concerning the interpretation of I Corinthians, XV.28[26] in which he attacks all those who make the Scriptures objects of intellectual curiosity, take phrases out of context and dangerously approach Arianism and Origenism.

Later generations kept attributing works to Nicholas, whose main claim to fame lay in his anti-Latin treatises. Some of them have been convincingly attributed to Nicholas-Nectarios of Otranto and to the Patriarch John Kamateros.[27]

22. *Antirresis pros ta graphenta para Soterichou tou problethentos Patriarchou Antiocheias,* ed. Demetrakopoulos, *ibid.*, 321-59.
23. Cf. note 9.
24. *Pros ton megan Domestikon erotesanta peri tou hagiou Pneumatos,* ed. Demetrakopoulos, *ibid.*, 199-218.
25. All three ed. Demetrakopoulos, *ibid.*, 219-65.
26. Ed. Demetrakopoulos, *ibid.*, 293-320.
27. J.M. Hoeck and R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole* (Ettal, 1965); E. Follieri has recently discovered another aspect of Nicholas' literary activity, namely hymnography, "Santi di Metone: Atanasio vescovo, Leone taumaturgo", *Byzantion,* 41 (1971), 378-451 (texts 443-51).

One of the earliest references to Nicholas after his death is a poem by Nikephoros Blemmydes, a short encomium of the theological abilities of the bishop.

Ὅσοι γὰρ θεσμοὺς Πατέρων χριστοφόρων,

θέλετε ἰδεῖν ἀμέμπτους ὀρθοδόξους,
δεῦτε πρόσιτε τῷ σοφῷ διδασκάλῳ,
Νικολάῳ λάμψαντι νέῳ Μεθώνης ...[28]

A fine philological point arises here with the word νέῳ. Does Blemmydes count Nicholas bishop of Myra or some other saint or bishop with the same name as the older of the two Nicholases? If that were the case, he should have written τῷ Μεθώνης . Does perhaps νέῳ go with Μεθώνης (=the younger bishop of Methone)? In that case we would have to postulate – as some scholars have done[29] – a second bishop of Methone named Nicholas, a person about whom we know even less, if anything at all, than about the historical Nicholas. Or perhaps we should understand Blemmydes as referring to Nicholas recently bishop of Methone. But how in that case could a man of the thirteenth century describe Nicholas as recently bishop of Methone? All three solutions are unsatisfactory; the first on linguistic, the second on historical and the third on chronological grounds. The reference must perhaps remain obscure until the Athos and Moscow manuscripts, which include this short poem, are collated.

28. *Nicephori Blemmydae curriculum vitae et carmina,* ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1897), 133.
29. J. Dräseke, "Zu Nikolaos von Methone", *ZWTh,* 41 (1898), 402-11; *idem,* "Ein unbekannter Gegner der Lateiner", *ZKircheng,* 18 (1898), 546-71.

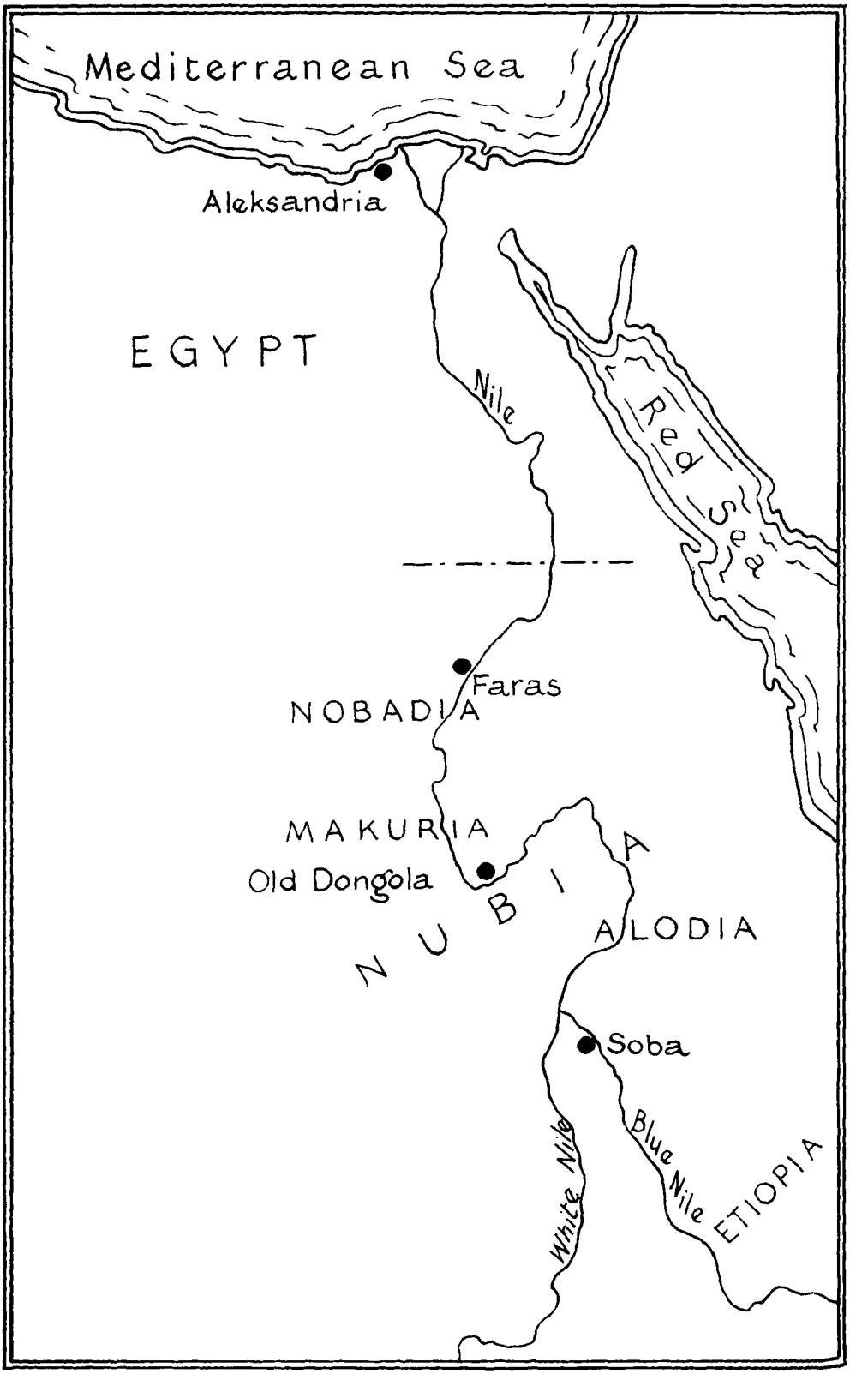
Classical Traditions in Christian Art of the Nile Valley

BOŻENA ROSTKOWSKA

Along the Nile valley, Egypt and the Christian Nubian kingdoms provide contrasting backgrounds and cultures against which the effects of the classical traditions on Christian art may be examined. For although both areas also maintained their existing indigenous traditions in art, Egypt, which extended as far as the first cataract of the Nile, had been in direct contact with classical influences both from the Greeks, especially after its conquest by Alexander in 332 B.C., and from the Romans under whose sovereignty it came with the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty in 31 B.C.[1] On the other hand, Nubia (that is, the Nile valley below the first cataract as far as the confluence of the Blue and White Nile) had never formed part of the Graeco-Roman world (fig. 7).

According to Coptic tradition, Christianity reached Egypt about the middle of the first century when it was brought to Alexandria by the evangelist Mark. Up to the time of the edict of Milan, Egyptian Christians experienced alternating periods of persecution and temporary peace. In this period Christianity drew its artistic methods of expression from pagan art, at first by representing its own ideas through hidden symbolism and subsequently by adopting the iconographic formulas of pagan art.[2] In the period in which Egypt formed part of the eastern Roman Empire (A.D. 395-641), Egyptian Christianity at first maintained its individuality in creed and art, but later it felt the impact of the empire and adopted on a wide scale themes and motifs from Graeco-Roman art, such as, for instance, the vine-leaf motif, as well as subjects from classical mythology. Of the latter, which were very common even in church decoration, some, such as Dionysus and the vine, Daphne's metamorphosis into a laurel bush[3] and Leda and the swan for instance, were either transformed or else deformed to a ludicrous degree. Under Arab rule, Egyptian Christians, that is Copts, continued in their art their earlier iconographic models, while adding to them motifs inspired by Muslim art.

1. J.D. Cooney, *Pagan and Christian Egypt. An Introduction to the Collection in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1941), 5-12.
2. Note especially: M. Cramer, *Das christlich – koptische Ägypten einst und heute. Eine Orientierung* (Wiesbaden, 1959); K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst. Die Spätantike in Ägypten* (Recklinghausen, 1963); P. du Bourguet, *Die Kopten* (Baden-Baden, 1967); A. Effenberger, *Koptische Kunst. Ägypten in spätantiker, byzantinischer und frühislamischer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1975).
3. A fifth-century fragment of a limestone frieze, depicting Daphne's metamorphosis is preserved in the Louvre, see Effenberger, *op.cit.*, illustration 13.


Mediterranean Sea
Aleksandria
EGYPT
Nile
Red Sea
Faras
NOBADIA
MAKURIA
Old Dongola
NUBIA
ALODIA
Soba
White Nile
Blue Nile
ETIOPIA

Left:
Fig. 7: Map of the Nile Valley

Right:
Fig. 8: The vine motif lintel from Faras Cathedral

Fig. 9: The Apostles John and Peter – Wall-painting from Faras Cathedral

Fig. 10: Man in the Vessel – Wall-painting from Abdallah Nirgi

Nubia, following its adoption of Christianity in the sixth century, found itself in direct contact with the cultural legacy of the Graeco-Roman world.[4] However, the Nubian Christian kingdoms had only recently begun their greatest period of politico-economic and social achievement when Egypt came under Arab domination, which cut off Nubia from the rest of the Christian world. But in spite of this isolation, these Nubian kingdoms lasted up to the fifteenth century, during which time they maintained their Christian traditions, art included.[5] Much earlier the Meroitic kingdom, which had held sway in Nubian territory for almost a thousand years from the sixth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., had adopted in its art elements taken both from ancient Egyptian and from Graeco-Roman culture and so created its specific form of syncretism.[6]

Some of those elements, under the influence of further contacts with the culture of the Mediterranean world, were still continued, like for example the motif of the vine which is often represented in Nubian architectural details (fig. 8) and on pottery.[7] With the coming of Christianity, Nubia adopted the iconographic patterns of the new creed, the genesis of which is often seen in its pagan Graeco-Roman iconography as in portraiture, representations of angels, apostles and so on (fig. 9).

Eventually, Christian art in Nubia created its own characteristic types, namely, holy warriors[8] and historical persons, which are known with variations in other parts of the Christian Orient and which evolve both from Hellenistic and from Roman Imperial iconography. On the other hand, in Nubian art, there also exists a type unique in Christian iconography, that of the "man in the vessel", for which analogies are known only in the art of antiquity (fig. 10).[9]

It is not possible to give here a detailed analysis which would reveal whether the use of classical traditions in Christian art from Nubia was fortuitous or not. But in the light of existing knowledge, we can state that classical subjects and motifs were employed in pottery, architecture and the iconography of paintings. It is to be hoped that further investigation will provide more precise information on the use of classical traditions in Christian art in Nubia and even perhaps information on how they arrived there.

4. The official dates of the conversion to Christianity for the Nubian Kingdoms are: Nobadia, 543; Makuria, 569; Alodia, 580.
5. Their history and culture are described by U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana* (Roma, 1938); K. Michalowski, *Faras, Wall-Paintings from the Faras Cathedral in the Collection of the Warsaw National Museum* (Warsaw, 1974), 16-27.
6. For an example of this syncretism, see *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* (New York, 1978), II, fig. 58. On the subject of Meroe and the problem of its culture and art, see: P.L. Shinnie, *Meroe; A Civilization of the Sudan* (London, 1967).
7. Cf. B. Wielecka, "Le rinceau de vigne ondulé dans l'art nubien", *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, 1 (1977), 22-35.
8. For an example, see the representation of St Menas on horseback, BM Ms. Or. 516, fol. 99b. See *The Christian Orient* (London, 1978), fig. 7.
9. See L. Török, "Man in the Vessel: an Interpretation of a Nubian Fresco Representation", *Nubia: Récentes Recherches* (Warsaw, 1975), 121-5.

The Eastern Case: The Classical Tradition in Armenian Art and the Scaenae Frons

DICKRAN KOUYMJIAN

Of the three major East Christian, non-Chalcedonian, churches – Coptic, Syrian, Armenian – representing three distinct geographical areas, the last had the least direct contact with classical civilization on its own soil. Nevertheless, Armenia was clearly exposed to various aspects of the classical tradition, either directly through contact with Greek centres of the Hellenistic world and Roman armies, or, indirectly by way of the Greek Christian areas within the Byzantine Empire, both the capital, Constantinople, as well as major cities of Syria and Palestine. The direct influence of the classical world on Armenian art in the pre-Christian period, reflected, for example, by the coinage of the Artaxiad kings of Armenia, especially the tetradrachmas of Tigranes the Great (95-55 B.C.),[1] or the peristyle temple at Garni (first century A.D.),[2] as well as the effect of Greek and Roman learning on early Armenian literature of the hellenizing school of translators, will be discussed in a longer study devoted to the classical tradition in Armenian art.[3] This paper will concentrate on a single motif from antique civilization, the *scaenae frons*, as reflected in Armenian miniature painting in the early Middle Ages.

Nearly the entire surviving corpus of figural art from the first thousand years of Armenia's conversion to the church of Jesus, the early fourth to the early fourteenth

1. The coins reflect a direct classical inspiration not only by their use of Greek legends and the classical *tyche* on the reverse, but also in the exceptionally fine engraving of the portrait of the king. See P.Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978), figs. 7-42; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London, 1978), 17, fig. 6.
2. The temple has the standard repertoire of classical decorative motifs found in the eastern Mediterranean. The superstructure fell as a result of an earthquake in 1679; N. Bouniatoff, *Temple paien à côté du palais de Tiridate dans la citadelle de Garni* (Erevan, 1933), in Armenian. Its reconstruction was undertaken by Alexandre Sahinian and Babgen Arak'elian, for which see A. Sahinian, "Nouveaux matériaux concernant l'architecture des constructions antiques de Garni". *REArm.*, n.s., 6 (1969), 181-200; *idem*, "L'Antico tempio della fortezza di Garni". *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale di Arte Armena (Bergamo, 29-30 giugno 1975)* (Venice, 1978), 601-12, fig. 6-7, for views of the reconstructed temple, which can also be seen in Der Nersessian, *op.cit.*, 19, fig. 8.
3. D. Kouymjian, "The Classical Tradition in Armenian Art", *REArm*, forthcoming. The classic study on the Hellenizing school is H. Manandian, *The Hellenizing School and the Periods of Its Development* (Vienna, 1928), in Armenian, originally published in *Handes Amsorya*. The "school" flourished in the sixth century, S. Arevshatian, "The Period of the Translation of Plato's Works", *Banber Matenadarani*, 10 (1971), 1-20, in Armenian with résumés in Russian and French. See also, C. Mercier, "L'Ecole hellénique dans la littérature arménienne", *REArm*, n.s., 13 (1978-79), 59-75 (posthumously published) for an analysis of the features of the phenomenon.

centuries, is Christian in content. The two major exceptions are themselves found in a religious context, the secular elements of relief sculpture on churches, especially at Aght'amar (915-921),[4] and genre scenes scattered in and around the arcades of canon tables and headpieces of illuminated Gospel manuscripts.[5] The overwhelming quantity of this Christian inspired art survives in codex illuminations; it is based upon this material that a study of the classical tradition in Armenian art must primarily be based.

The oldest surviving Armenian illuminations, the final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospels, two leaves painted on each side, bound at the end of a late tenth-century Armenian manuscript, were thought by Josef Strzygowski to be Syrian works of the sixth century.[6] Sirarpie Der Nersessian has convincingly determined their Armenian provenance and date (late sixth or early seventh century) by pointing out, *inter alia,* their close stylistic similarity to early seventh-century

4. Particularly the inhabited vine scroll which forms a band around the entire church; K. Otto-Dorn, "Türkisch Islamisches Bildgut in den Figuren reliefs von Achthamar", *Anatolia,* 6 (1961), 99-167; superseded by S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 25-8, and Der Nersessian and H. Vahramian, *Aght'amar, Documents of Armenian Architecture,* VIII (Milan, 1974). For other examples of sculptural reliefs, see L. Azarian, *Armenian Sculpture of the Early Middle Ages* (Erevan, 1975), in Armenian; N. Stepanian and A. Tchakmaktchian, *L'Art décoratif de l'Arménie médiévale* (Leningrad, 1971), *passim;* Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art, passim.* Mention should also be made of the ceramics from the excavation of Dvin and Ani with polychrome figures, Stepanian and Tchakmaktchian, *L'Art décoratif,* 53-5, and the carved wooden doors of 1134 from the church of the Holy Apostles in Mush now in the State Historical Museum, Erevan, *ibid.,* figs. 162-3.

5. The best known examples are in the Mlk'e Gospels of 862, to be discussed shortly, Venice, Library of the Mekhitarist Fathers, MS. 1144/86, fols. 1^{v}, 2, M. Janashian, *Armenian Miniature Painting of the Monastic Library at San Lazzaro,* (San Lazzaro, Venice, 1966), I, pls. II-III (colour): cf. D. Kouymjian, *Index of Armenian Art,* Part I, *Manuscript Illumination, Fasc. I (Draft), Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts to the Year 1000 A.D.* (Fresno-Paris, 1977), 3-4, figs. 8-9; the Mugna Gospels of the late eleventh century, Erevan, Matenadaran (Museum of Ancient Manuscripts), MS 7736, fol. 4^{v}, T. Izmailova, "Les racines pré-byzantines dans les miniatures arménnienes (Les Canons du Tétraévangile de Mougna)", *Armeniaca, Mélanges d'Etudes Arméniennes* (Venice, 1969), fig. 4, for a colour reproduction see L.A. Dournovo and R.G. Drampian, *Miniatures Arméniennes* (Erevan, 1967), pl.9; and the Haghbat Gospels of 1211, Erevan, Mat., MS 6288, colour reproductions in *ibid.,* pls. 18-20; D. Kouymjian, "The Secular in the Sacred: the Decoration of Armenian Canon Tables", unpublished lecture to the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, Cambridge, Mass., December, 1977. The earliest extant illustrated secular manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy of the *Alexander Romance,* Venice, Mekhitarist Library, MS 424.

6. Erevan, Mat., MS 2374, formerly Etchmiadzin MS 229, fols. 288, 288^{v}, 289, 289^{v}; for full bibliography, Kouymjian, *Index, Fasc. I,* 1-2, figs. 1-4, colour reproductions in L. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures* (New York, 1961), 33-9; J. Stryzgowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar. Beiträge zur geschichte der armenischen, ravennatischen und syro-ägyptischen Kunst. Byzantinische Denkmaler,* I (Vienna, 1891).

Opposite:
Fig. 11: Adoration of the Magi from the Etchmiadzin Gospels

Armenian wall-paintings preserved in the churches of Lmbat and Talish/Arutj.[7] These four precious New Testament miniatures – Annunciation to Zachariah, Annunciation to the Virgin, Adoration of the Magi (fig. 11), Baptism – show a clear mixture of classical and oriental elements. The faces in all of them are rendered frontally (a single Magus is seen in profile), with dark almond-shaped eyes, thick eyebrows, and small mouths. In contrast the archangels of the Annunciations, especially to Zachariah, appear in graceful classical contraposto stances with weight on the left foot and with body turned slightly toward the central character. Though the folds of their garments are stylized by long parallel strokes, the shape of their bodies is still apparent, as opposed to the formlessness of those of the youthful Christ and John the Baptist, of Zachariah and all the figures in the Adoration of the Magi, which reveal a hieratic frontality far removed from classical naturalism. The personae in the latter scene are counterpoised against an architectural background of direct classical borrowing. This building is probably the same one found in the two Annunciations, but split in half, the left behind Zachariah, the right accompanying the Virgin.[8] The stance of the Magi, pictured with heels together and knees apart, and their convincing Parthian garments, similar to those worn by a magus in frescoes from the Mithraeum of Dura Europos and various figures in the synagogue of the same city, later to pass into the world of the Sassanian usurpers,[9] make it clear that the Armenian artist, despite the classical models from which he borrowed the iconography of the scene and the background, was also perfectly familiar with the Iranian world from which the Magi originated.[10]

This fragment of an illustrated Gospel must have been amongst the first indigenous works of miniature painting. In an Armenian tract written in defence of images in the early seventh century, the priest Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh says, "Until now no one among the Armenians knows how to make images, but they are brought from the Greeks and our culture comes from them too".[11] The exemplary copies of Greek Bible manuscripts sought in Constantinople in the early fifth century by

7. S. Der Nersessian, "La peinture arménienne au VIIe siècle et les miniatures de l'Évangile d'Etchmiadzia", *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Belgrade, 1964), III, 49-57, reprint *idem, Études byzantines et études arméniennes, Byzantine and Armenian Studies,* (Louvain, 1973), 525-32.

8. D.V. Ainalov had already touched on this feature in 1900-01 while developing a long discussion on the classical architectural background pitted against the oriental style of the figures, *Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art,* trans. from the Russian by E. and S. Sobolevitch (New Brunswick, 1961), 100-8, esp. 104, note 128. See also Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art,* 75.

9. E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period III, Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue,* (New York, 1964), pls. VI and IX, fig. 140 for the Magus. For the Sassanian borrowing, the example often cited is the cup of Chosroes I in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.-A.D. 651* (New York, 1962), figs. 244, 401.

10. For a discussion of the first three miniatures' relationship to monumental art, especially to the lost mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, see below, 162.

11. S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle", *Byzantion,* 17 (1944-45), 58-87, reprint *Études,* 386.

the students of Mesrop Mashtotz to guarantee that the final translation of the Testaments into Armenian be as reliable as possible, might well have had miniatures and decorated canon tables. A study of Armenian canon tables from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, with their clearly archaic qualities, suggests the use of very early models.[12]

Just as the classicizing prototypes which served in part for the execution of the final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospels were from a pre-Iconoclastic era, so too must have been the manuscripts which served the artist of the Mlk'e Gospels, the earliest dated Armenian manuscript, now ascribed to the year A.D. 862 or perhaps a decade earlier.[13] This large codex, one of the treasures of the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice, was later offered, in 902, by Queen Mlk'e to the monastery of Varag near Lake Van and may have been executed in the same region. Various scholars who have compared the miniatures of this work with those of the Rabbula Gospels of 586, a Syriac manuscript, but with miniatures inspired by a classicizing style, emphasize the antiquity of the model underlining the illuminations of the Armenian work, by the striking similarities of the iconography, the impressionistic application of colour, and the subjects illustrated. These include floral decorations above the canon arcades, evangelist portraits showing two seated and two standing, and the full page miniature of the Ascension.[14] The natural stance of the standing Apostles Luke (fig. 12) and John (fig 13), in the Mlk'e Gospels and the background of these same miniatures, described by Mesrop Janashian as an atrium, but more recently correctly identified by Der Nersessian as a *scaenae frons* of Roman theatre architecture, reveals again a clear classicizing model.[15] This classical motif is preserved in

12. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Göteburg, 1938), 73-85, pls. 17-23.

13. Janashian, *Armenian Miniature Painting,* pls. I-XI (colour). There are two colophonic inscriptions affording the dates 851 and 862. The earlier was already proposed as the date of the manuscript by B. Sargisian, *Bazmavep* (1910), no. 11, 478-87 in Armenian, repeated in *idem, Grand Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice,* I (San Lazzaro, Venice, 1914), cols. 385-6 in Armenian: the latter date was put forward by N. Adontz, *Sion* (1936), 274-5 in Armenian. Janashian, *op.cit.*, 18-9, concluded that "it is not improbable to fix the date of the copy to 851" while 862 was for him the date of the rebinding. The second date has been accepted by Der Nersessian, see the foreword to Janashian, *ibid.*, 2; *idem, The Armenians* (London, 1969), 140; *idem, Armenian Art,* 82. For full early bibliography consult Kouymjian, *Index of Armenian Art, Fasc. I,* 3-4, figs. 5-15. A close examination of the manuscript by Guy Petherbridge of London and myself confirms that the miniatures and the text are from the same epoch.

14. F. Macler, "Raboula-Mlqe", *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), 81-97; S. Der Nersessian, "Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel", *ArtB,* 15 (1933), 335 ff., reprint *idem, Études,* 540-58; K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerie des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* (Bamberg, 1933), reprint (Amsterdam, 1970, 4-8, figs. 1-9; Janashian, *op.cit.* 21-3.

15. Janashian, *ibid.*, 20; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art,* 83. Perhaps it would be useful to point out that Der Nersessian's latest study, *Armenian Art,* is more than a lavish art album; she has used the text and the extensive notes as a vehicle to update, correct, and supplement many ideas she had already discussed and also to present totally new ones relative to the entire history of Armenian art.

Byzantine evangelist portraits of the tenth century.[16] In discussing a period of classical renaissance, fostered in the post-Iconoclastic period by the dynasty founded by the Armenian Basil I, Kurt Weitzmann has suggested that this element was consciously adopted from the classical tradtion.[17]

The *scaenae frons* of the classical theatre[18] appears more than once in early Armenian manuscript illumination. It is usually misunderstood or awkwardly depicted. Even in these miniatures, the strong parallel lines give the impression of being more like long cubes than the cylindrical columns of a colonnade above the proscenium wall. Yet, judging by the *scaenae frons* represented in the portrait of St Luke in the Byzantine Gospels, Mt Athos, Stauronikita, Cod. 43 (fig. 14), such a reduction could have existed in the model available to the Armenian artist.[19] The large drape in the background of the two. Mlk'e miniatures may have its source in the curtain hung in the centre of the theatre facade, the Porta Regia, which projected forward and was flanked by two columns. In the Armenian miniatures the traditional Corinthian or composite capitals are totally lacking. The artist's understanding of his model is surely in question.

This same reduction is evident in the miniature of the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 11) of the Etchmiadzin Gospels. A close look at the area to the left of the central arch containing the Virgin, just above the heads of the two Magi, reveals a

16. The Byzantine manuscripts which have the clearest representation of a *scaenae frons*, all Evangelists portraits, are: Mt. Athos, Philotheou, Cod. 33, St Mark, early tenth century, A.M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts", *Art Studies*, 1 (1972), fig. 39; Oxford, Bodleian Library. Cod. Auct. E.V.11, p.136, St Mark, tenth century, with the colonnade of the sides omitted, K. Weitzmann, "Book Illumination of the Fourth Century", *Akten des VII. Intern. Kongresses für Christliche Archaeologie, Trier, 1965 (Rome and Berlin, 1969)*, reprint *idem, Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. Kessler (Chicago and London, 1971), 112, fig. 90; Mt Athos, Stauronikita, Cod. 43, fol. 12v, St Luke and fol. 13, St John, tenth century, Friend, *art.cit.*, figs. 97-8.

17. K. Weitzmann, "The Character and Intellectual Origin of the Macedonian Renaissance", [originally *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 107, Cologne and Opladen, 1963)], *Studies*, esp. 196-7, and *idem*, "Book Illumination", 112-3. On theatrical backgrounds in Byzantine Evangelists' portraits, see also Friend, *art.cit.*, 9 ff.

18. For a well preserved early third-century Roman *scaenae frons*, or stage facade, at Sabratha. Libyan Arab Republic, see R. Brilliant, *Roman Art* (Newton Abbot, 1974), fig. 1.61b; others are found at Dugga and various Mediterranean sites. They are also represented in Pompeian frescoes such as the Casti di Pinario Ceriale, Weitzmann, "Macedonian Renaissance", *Studies*, fig. 186. However, perhaps one should not discount as a source large temple-complex façades such as that of the entrance to the hexagonal court of the early or mid-third-century A.D. temple at Baalbek which had a central arch covered by a gabled roof and flanked by rows of columns, Brilliant, *op.cit.*, fig. I.32.

19. Cf. Mlk'e, Luke or John, Janashian, *op.cit.*, pLX-XI (our figs. 12-13) with Stauronikita, Luke, Friend, "Portraits", fig. 97, or J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth, 1970), fig. 170. Of course the Byzantine example shows perspective and includes the central archway which has been omitted in the Armenian ones..

Opposite:
Fig. 12: St Luke from the Mlk'e Gospels

similar series of parallel lines which are certainly part of a *scaenae frons*. The hatching, which is barely visible near the tops of these upward sloping columns, represented the expected capitals lacking in the Mlk'e Gospels (fig. 13). The right hand side of the Virgin also bears the same element, but, because of the damaged state of the miniature, it is even less visible. This detail is in keeping with the central place which should be allotted the Virgin and Child in the Porta Regia; here however the traditional architrave of this element is replaced by an arch neatly surmounting the Virgin with the expected scallop shell also used in niches of the Roman period for statues of divinities.[20] If compared to the portrait of St Mark (fig. 15) before the *scaenae frons* in another Byzantine manuscript of the tenth century, the faulty perspective of the Armenian painting, especially in rendering the ends of the gabled roof, confuse the actual form being displayed. Nevertheless, this clearly classical detail in a miniature dating to the late sixth or early seventh century, based as it must be on a model perforce of the fifth or sixth century, adds further weight to, or even perhaps proves, Weitzmann's speculation that the introduction of the *scaenae frons* into miniature painting must be credited to Christian rather than pagan book illumination.[21]

It is possible, as has been suggested by several authorities, that monumental art could have served as the model for the first three unframed miniatures of the final Etchmiadzin cycle with their relatively large figures for the size of the painted surface and in contrast to the fourth, the Baptism, which has a frame. Already in 1900, D.V. Ainalov insisted on this point. For the architectural backgrounds he suggested that mosaics like those surviving in Ravenna and the late fourth-century group in the church of St George in Thessalonike were available.[22] As direct models for the scenes, especially the Adoration of the Magi, of the Etchmiadzin Gospels, which, following Strzygowski, he held to be a Syrian work rather than Armenian, Ainalov turned to the mosaics on the façade of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, perhaps dating to Justinian's reconstruction of the sixth century. Though these mosaics have not survived, a synodical letter of 836 sent to Emperor Theophilos mentions the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi among them. About the latter,

20. The miniature is best represented in Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, fig. 51. The architecture strongly recalls the miniature of Dioscurides and Epinoia in the famous Juliana Anicia manuscript of ca. 512, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. med. gr.1, fol.5^{v}, K. Weitzmann, "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression", *Byzantine Art – an European Art* (Athens, 1966), reprint *idem, Studies*, 159, fig. 136. Cf. also the Temple of Baalbek façade, Brilliant, *op.cit.*, fig. 1.32.

21. For St Mark, Mt Athos, Philotheou, Cod. 33, Friend, "Portraits", fig. 39; Weitzmann, *Studies* 112, fig. 89. Weitzmann's speculation, *ibid.*, 113.

22. Ainalov, *Hellenistic Origins*, 100, 107; Der Nersessian, "La peinture arménienne au VIIe siècle", *Etudes*, 529-32; *idem, The Armenians*, 139-40. For the mosaics of St George, W.F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York, no date but 1961), pls. 124-5; for Ravenna, *ibid.*, pls. 141, 142, 152.

Opposite:
Fig. 13: St John from the Mlk'e Gospels

the bishop's report, they were told that the Persians, when they took Jerusalem in 614, recognized their national costumes in the dresses worn by the three kings (Magi) and therefore spared the Church.[23]

Ainalov's hypothesis is still valid, even though now the *final* as well as the *initial* miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospels are accepted as Armenian and not Syrian works. The presence of a significant Armenian community in Palestine in these centuries and continuously to our day, is clear from both literary accounts and the mosaics with Armenian inscriptions from the fifth to sixth centuries.[24] These mosaics would also suggest that there were Armenian artists who could have absorbed the decorative elements and iconography of depictions like the Adoration of the Magi and imported them into Armenia. One should not discount the possibility that the miniatures themselves might have been executed by Armenians in the Holy Land and later brought to their homeland, since an Armenian scriptorium was already established in Jerusalem in the mid-fifth century.[25] A spectographic analysis of the pigments used in these miniatures and in other early Armenian manuscripts may help determine the region of their creation.[26]

23. Ainalov, *op.cit.*, 107; Der Nersessian, *Études*, 530, citing L. Duchesne, "Lettre des patriarches Christophore d'Alexandrie, Job d'Antioche et Basile de Jérusalem à l'empereur Théophile en 836", *Roma e l'Oriente*, 5 (1912), 283-4; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, (Oxford, 1969), I.1, 122. These mosaics are not to be confounded with those of 1169, today in dismal condition, commissioned by Emperor Manuel Komnenos during the reign of King Amaury of Jerusalem and not considered by all as works of Byzantine art; Beckwith, *op.cit.*, 76-7, and esp. 183, note 20; S. Der Nersessian, "Western Themes in Armenian Manuscript Illumination", *Hartford Seminary Foundation, Bulletin*, 19 (1955), 1-7, reprint *Études*, 613; Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantine* (Paris, 1910), 527-9. These later mosaics, depicting church councils, may have been restorations of earlier works of the early eighth century. According to the detailed description made of these mosaics in 1626 by the Franciscan friar Franciscus Quaresmius, the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi was depicted in the south apse, but it is far from clear if they had any relationship to the early mosaics depicting the Magi, which must have been made during Justinian's total reconstruction of the church in the first half of the sixth century; Beckwith *ibid.*, 183 note 20; R.W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, A Guide* (Jerusalem, 1947), 35, 53.

24. On the Jerusalem mosaics, Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, 69-70, figs. 44-5, and B. Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (New Rochelle, 1979), 21-8, figs. 32-40; see also B.N. Arakelian, "Armenian Mosaics of the Early Middle Ages", *Atti del Primo Simposio*, 1-17, figs. 1-12. For literary sources, A.K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Domination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 3-6.

25. Sanjian, *Armenian Communities*, 4, with references in note 16; *idem*, in Narkiss, *op.cit.*, 11, without documentation.

26. To the best of my knowledge the only work in this direction was first undertaken by Robert Allison on the Armenian manuscripts in the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, in the early 1970s. Recently Thomas Matthews has had the pigments analysed of the early fourteenth-century illuminated Gospels of T'oros of Taron formerly in the C. Minassian collection, New Julfa, now at U.C.L.A.; he reported orally on this analysis during an informal session at the Fifth Byzantine Studies Conference, Dumbarton Oaks, October 1979.

Opposite
Fig. 14: St Luke from Stauronikita Cod. 43

A closer study may some day resolve the problem whether the first three miniatures were inspired by monumental art or copied directly from a Byzantine manuscript. Though the Adoration of the Magi is not specifically mentioned by Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh among the scenes painted in Armenian churches, "All the wonders of Christ that are related in the scriptures we see painted in the churches of God . . . the Nativity, Baptism, the Passion and Crucifixion, the Entombment, Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven",[27] it may have been part of the Nativity or simply overlooked by the author. Unfortunately no such narrative cycle from the early period has survived in Armenia, though a group of seventh-century churches preserve various wall-paintings.[28] Thus, the literary testimony and archaeological remains suggest clearly that Armenian artists had the opportunity to employ monumental images as models for manuscript illumination, both in Armenia or through the Armenian communities of the Holy Land.

Vrt'anes K'ert'ogh in a subsequent passage of his treatise in support of Christian images[29] also speaks of "Gospel manuscripts of purple vellum, painted in gold and silver and bound with ivory plaques".[30] These were probably among the Greek manuscripts brought into Armenia from Constantinople and other places for use by the translator of the fifth and sixth centuries. From what we know of the major surviving purple codices – the Rossano and Sinope Gospels, the Vienna Genesis – all attributed to the mid-sixth century, some of their miniatures were in part adopted from monumental art.[31] It is just as reasonable to predicate a manuscript model for the Etchmiadzin miniatures, a model which had already been transplanted from a mosaic or fresco to parchment, as it is to look toward monuments such as the Bethlehem mosaics.

However, if the framed miniature Baptism was borrowed from a work other than the model(s) of the other three – a reasonable supposition – to form a special set of four, this would add further weight to Der Nersessian's argument that the unique

27. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians,* 137; *idem,* "Une apologie", *Études,* 384.
28. L. Dournovo; *Kratkaya istoriya drevnearmyanskoi zhivopisi* (Erevan, 1957), 9-13; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art,* 71-2.
29. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians,* 139; *idem, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 113; *idem,* "Une apologie", *Études,* 385.
30. The ivory covers which actually bind the Etchmiadzin Gospels today, Byzantine works of the sixth century, are probably surviving relics from Vrt'anes' time and provide eloquent testimony on the accuracy of his statements; Beckwith, *op.cit.,* fig. 116; Ainalov, *op.cit.,* figs. 82A-B; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art,* figs. 49-50 (colour).
31. Widely published and discussed in almost every work on early Christian or Byzantine art. Reference is given to only one important recent article which deals with the Rossano Gospels and the question of transference of images from monumental art to manuscript illumination and convincingly demonstrates through concrete examples from the Rossano codex the steps involved in this process. W.G. Loerke, "The Monumental Miniature", *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), esp. 69-97.

Opposite:
Fig. 15: St Mark from Philotheou Cod. 33

theophanic cycle represented by the final miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospels was composed by an Armenian artist to fit local theological attitudes.[32]

Returning to the *scaenae frons,* it is found again several times in the late eleventh-century Mugna Gospels now in Erevan.[33] Recognition of this feature, here clearly misunderstood and truncated, is not obvious.[34] In the Visitation (fig. 16), there are a series of parallel lines above the arch which encloses Mary and Elizabeth;[35] these must surely represent the *scaenae frons* in a composite architectural background held together by colour rather than the form of the structure. In the same manuscript, the Presentation in the Temple[36] (fig. 17) has the customary central arch resting on massive columns, suggesting more a Porta Regia than a ciborium, above which is an inverted conch supported by short pipe-like sections in the form of Pan's flute, but which again strongly suggest derivation from a *scaenae frons.*

The motif occurs three more times in the Mugna Gospels. In the portrait of St Matthew it is centred between flanking lateral pavilions; allowing for a not too successful rendering of perspective, it must surely represent the area above a Porta Regia.[37] The "portholes" to the right and left are like those in the Visitation (fig. 16), but more pronounced. Behind St Mark, the architectural ensemble is more symmetrical with the disguised *scaenae frons* again functioning as graphic decoration rather than an understood architectural component.[38] Curiously, in the image of St John with Prochorus, the Porta Regia has been detached from the rest of the building and, with its dissimulated *scaenae frons,* put off to the lower right corner for artistic balance.[39] The final occurrence of the motif in the Mugna Gospels is in the

32. For a discussion of this symbolic type of Gospel illumination, Der Nersessian, "La peinture arménienne au VIIe siècle", *Études,* 527 ff.; *idem, Armenian Art,* 75-8.

33. T. Izmailova, "Le cycle des fêtes du tétraévangile de Mougna: Maténadaran, no. 7736" *REArm,* n.s., 6 (1969), 105-39; D. Kouymjian, *Index of Armenian Art,* Fascicule II, *Illuminated Armenian Manuscripts of the 11th Century. Preliminary Report and Checklist* (Fresno, 1979), MS no. 20. And now, T. Izmailova, *Armyanskaya miniatiora XI veka* (Moscow, 1979), 124-81; Izmailova does not discuss the *scaenae frons'.*

34. Der Nersessian vaguely hints at its identity in the Presentation miniature, *Armenian Art,* 115.

35. Fol. 11, Izmailova, "Le cycle des fêtes", fig. 1; colour reproduction in Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures,* 53; Izmailova, *Armyanskaya miniatiora,* 156, fig. 97.

36. Fol. 13, Izmailova, "Le cycle des fêtes", fig. 3; *idem, Armyanskaya miniatiora,* 157, fig. 98 (colour).

37. Izmailova, *Armyanskaya miniatiora,* 148, fig. 89.

38. *Ibid.,* 150, fig. 91. The miniature of St Luke, *ibid.,* 152, fig. 93, contains a similar background but the parallel lines of a *scaenae frons* are not visible. However, an interesting detail in this miniature is what appears to be a lyre-back chair, so dear to Anthony Cutler, to my knowledge the only other one in Armenian art beside that of the Virgin in the Presentation of the Magi of the Etchmiadzin Gospels (our fig. 11).

39. *Ibid.,* 154, fig. 95.

Opposite:
Fig. 16: The Visitation from the Mugna Gospels

Last Supper where the oval table with Christ and the Apostles is placed directly in the middle of a monumental architectural background with the same Porta Regia as in the evangelist portraits, the fluting representing the *scaenae frons* shown twice, with portholes, above two separate, superimposed arches.[40]

The occurrence of this element from the classical theatre in three of the most ancient Armenian manuscripts emphasizes the availability to artists in that country of Early Christian models closely associated with a classicizing style. In two of the three examples the models had to be copies of works executed before the Iconoclast controversy rather than products of the Basilian renaissance.

Over the centuries Armenian art has been marked by its eclecticism.[41] The country's vast geographical extension brought it in touch with the East and the West; thus Armenian culture can claim to have descended from both oriental civilization and the occidental tradition of the Hellenistic and Roman world, absorbing in succeeding epochs Byzantine, European,[42] Muslim, and even Far Eastern elements.[43] It is this diverse experience which has enriched Armenian art and iconography.[44]

40. Fol. 18^{v}, Izmailova, "Le cycle des fêtes", fig. 8; *idem, Armyanskaya miniatiora,* 162, fig. 103. The consistent use of this element in the Mugna Gospels suggests that the Byzantine model employed by the artist depicted the *scaenae frons* more clearly and more generally than the manuscripts thus far used by Weitzmann in his discussions of this iconographical detail from the classical tradition.

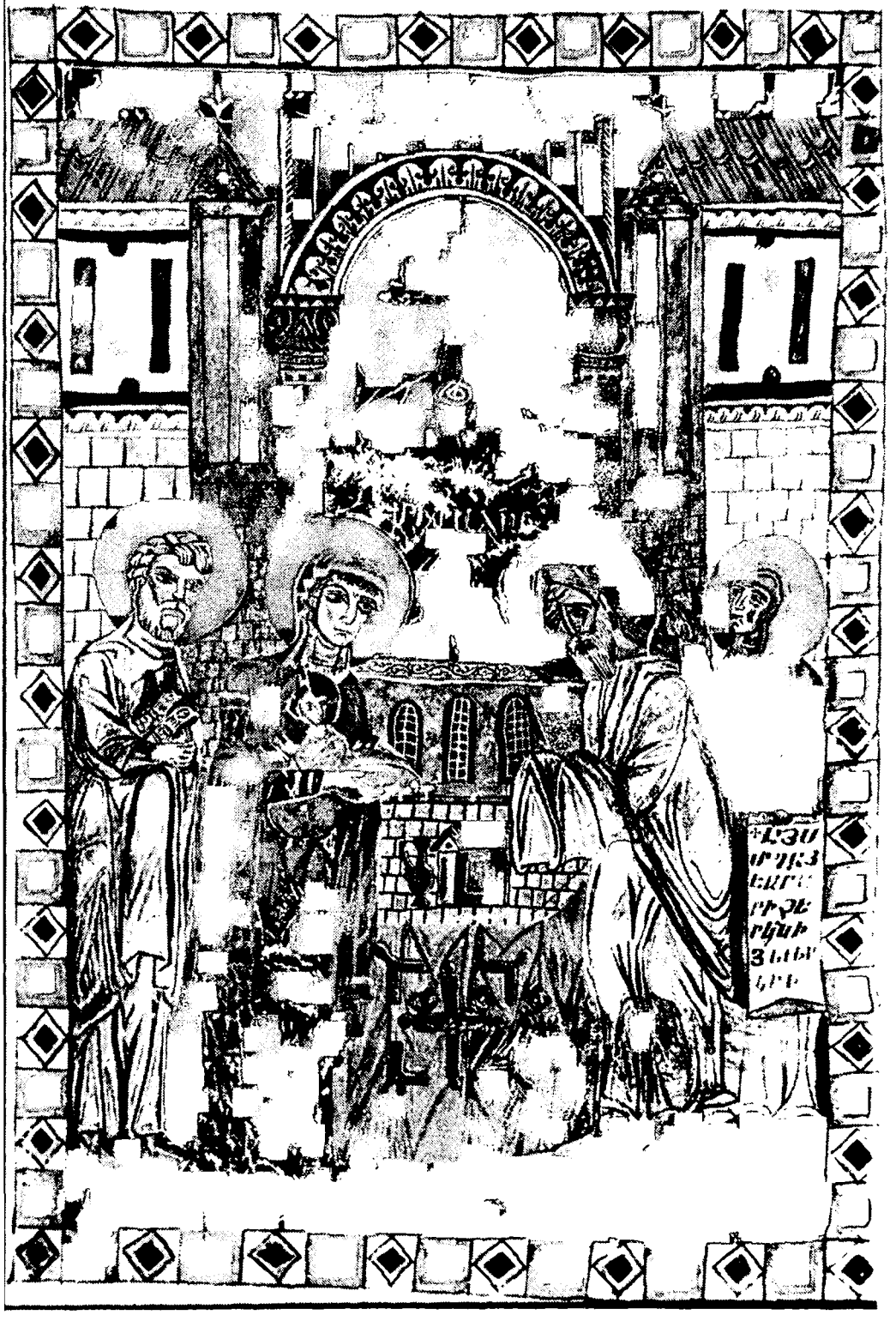
41. S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII^{e}, XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitaristes de Venise,* (Paris, 1936), I, 170, and reiterated in most of her general studies on Armenian art, e.g. *Armenian Art,* 245.

42. Der Nersessian, "Western Themes in Armenian Manuscript Illumination", *ibid.*

43. D. Kouymjian, "Far Eastern Influences in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period", paper presented (and distributed in mimeographed form) at the Society for Armenian Studies panel of the XIth Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New York, November 1977, to appear in *Armenian Studies in Honor of Haig Berbérian.* Chinese motifs already appear in the *Lectionary* of King Het'um II, dated 1286 (Erevan Mat. MS 979, for instance fol. 295, Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art,* fig. 116) and in a Gospel of 1287 of Archbishop John, brother of Het'um I (Erevan, Mat., MS 197, fol. 341, Doumovo, *Armenian Miniatures,* fig. p.113); this second example, a dragon on the garment of Archbishop John, was kindly brought to my attention by Miss Der Nersessian. These Armenian borrowings even pre-date the earliest appearances of such motifs in Islamic manuscripts.

44. I should like to acknowledge that travel expenses to attend the Symposium on the Classical Tradition at the University of Birmingham in April 1979 were provided by the Louise Nalbandian Memorial Fund for Armenian Studies, California State University, Fresno. This article is only part of the communication presented in Birmingham.

Opposite:
Fig. 17: The Presentation in the Temple from the Mugna Gospels



Some Classical Saints in the Russian Tradition

JANA HOWLETT

An interesting composition, divided horizontally into five rows, adorns the north doors of the Annunciation Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. The top three rows are occupied by Christ enthroned, the Virgin and Old Testament Prophets. The bottom two rows contain representations of "Aphroditian", Homer, Hermes (Trismegistus), Menander and a Sibyl. Their heads, like those of the Old Testament prophets, are framed by haloes, each halo being surrounded with words of prophecy (above "Aphroditian", for example, are the words "God is to be born of the pure Virgin Mary, in Him I believe").[1] The "classical prophets" are separated from each other by stylized trees and it is clear that this composition, executed ca. 1564,[2] represents a "Tree of Jesse with hellenic philosophers and Sibyls".

This variant of the "Tree of Jesse", found in the fresco decoration of churches in Greece and Eastern Europe[3] is known from the early fourteenth century,[4] but the most complete and spectacular examples belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth

1. M.V. Alpatov, *Khudozhestvennye pamyatniki Moskovskogo Kremlya* (Moscow, 1956), ills. 89, 90. Details of the composition are reproduced in V. Suslov, "Blagoveshchensky sobor v Moskovskom Kremle", *Pamyatniki drevnerusskogo iskusstva,* 2 (1909), 8 and in N.A. Kazakova, "Prorochestva ellinskikh mudretsov i ikh izobrazheniya v russkoy zhivopisi XVI-XVII vekov", *TrDrLit,* 17 (1961), fig. 2. All translations of quotations from primary sources are mine.
2. Alpatov, *op.cit.*, 44.
3. N.A. Bees, "Darstellungen altheidnischer Denker und Autoren in der Kirchenmalerei der Griechen", *BNJbb,* 4 (1923), 121-4; V. Grecu, "Darstellungen altheidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes", *BSHACRoum,* 11 (1924), 4-30; A. von Premerstein, "Neues zu den apokryphen Heilsprophezeiungen heidnischer Philosophen in Literatur und Kirchenkunst", *BNJbb.* 9 (1932/3), 357-9; D. Medaković, "Prestave antichkikh filosofa i Sivila u zhivopisu Bogoroditse Lyevishke", *ZVI,* 6 (1960), 43-57. It would appear from Kazakova's article that she was unaware of the existence of this composition outside Russia.
4. Medaković, *art.cit.*, 43. Depictions of "hellenic philosophers" separately from the "Tree of Jesse" evidently existed at an earlier date (von Premerstein, *art.cit.*, 356). Several authors refer to early Russian icons of "hellenic philosophers and Sibyls" with Christ, the Virgin, St Nicholas etc. (Grecu, *art.cit.*, 28-9; Medaković, *art.cit.*, 53; Kazakova, *art.cit.*, 366) but their information is based on an unverified reference to undated icons in Makary, *Arkheologicheskoe opisanie tserkovnykh drevnostey v Novgorode i ego okrestnostyakh* (Moscow, 1860), 41-2, note 69. Unfortunately these icons seem to have disappeared. The iconographic history of this composition and the reasons for its popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries require further study. It should be noted, however, that in Russia and the South Slavonic area the "Tree of Jesse with Hellenic Philosophers and Sibyls" is found in churches built under patronage of the local ruler and "portraits" of the ruler and his antecedents frequently form part of the composition.

centuries.[5] The Annunciation Cathedral frescoes (first painted in the 1560s)[6] include one such example, with Virgil among the "hellenic philosophers".[7] Though the names attached to the "philosophers and Sibyls" vary from church to church, as do the prophecies inscribed on the scrolls they hold,[8] the fresco compositions all clearly distinguish between a pagan and an inspired prophet by only giving haloes to the latter.

The artist responsible for the north doors of the Annunciation Cathedral must have been acquainted with the iconography of the "Tree of Jesse with hellenic philosophers and Sibyls" yet he failed to make this distinction. Was this a mechanical error, or did the artist see Homer, Menander and their like as holy prophets? To answer this question it is necessary to consider the extent of Russia's acquaintance with the "classical tradition".

Yelinskaya mudrost', hellenic wisdom, was the term used in the Slavonic world to describe the ideas and works of pre-Christian writers, and "hellenic wisdom" came to Russia as part of the literature received from Byzantium together with the Christian religion.

This literature was almost entirely of Christian authorship[9] and almost all of it was read in translation. Before the second half of the seventeenth century[10] there

5. Good illustrations can be found in P. Comarnescu, *Voroneț* (Bucharest, 1959), ills. 119-33; A. Tschillingirow, *Christliche Kunst in Bulgarien* (Berlin, 1978), ills. 236-40; G. Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries* (Sofia, 1978), 352-3.
6. Alpatov, *op.cit.*, 49-50.
7. *Ibid.*, ill. 88. The "Tree of Jesse" is in the gallery of the cathedral, added in the sixteenth century. The composition may, however, be based on an earlier work. According to a contemporary letter, in 1405 Theophanes the Greek "painted a Tree of Jesse and an Apocalypse" in the Annunciation Cathedral; V.N. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek i ego shkola* (Moscow, 1961), 113. The cathedral was rebuilt in 1484-1489 and new frescoes were painted in 1508. These included an Apocalypse based on Theophanes' iconography.
8. On the relationship between the composition and the "prophecies of hellenic philosophers" see A. Mikhaylov, "K voprosu o grekovizantiyskikh i slavyanskikh sbornikakh izrecheniy", *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya,* 285 (1893), 15-59; Grecu, *art.cit.*, 31-60; von Premerstein, *art.cit.*, 340-54; Kazakova, *art.cit.*, 358-65, F. Buslaev, "Literatura russkikh ikonopisnykh podlinnikov", *Istoricheskie ocherki russkoy narodnov slovestnosti i iskusstva.* 2 (St Petersburg, 1861), 361 ff.; Medaković, *art.cit.*, 45-51; I. Dujčev, "Konstanin Filosof i 'Predskazanita na m'drite elini' ", *ZVI,* 49 (1956), 149-55; A.-M. Gravgaard, "Hedenske vismaend i kristen tjeneste" *Festskrift for Professor J. Christensen og Professor K. Friis-Johansen* (Copenhagen, forthcoming). It is interesting to note that though the Serbian, Moldavian and Bulgarian frescoes contain names which cannot be attributed to any known historical character (e.g. *Elin Astakos,* "Lobster the Hellene"?) all the identifiable names belong to Greek writers and philosophers.
9. The only pre-Christian works known to have reached Russia in their original form before the seventeenth century are Josephus' *History* and a grammatical treatise by Donatus Aurelius: N.A. Meshchersky, *Istoriya Yudeyskoy voyny Iosifa Flaviya v drevnerusskom perevode* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958); *idem,* "Problemy izucheniya slavyano-russkoy perevodnoy literatury XI-XI vekov", *TrDrLit,* 20 (1964), 224; A.I. Sobolevsky, "Perevodnaya literatura Moskovskoy Rusi XIV-XVII vekov", *Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk,* 74 (1903), 39.
10. The situation changed completely after 1655, when the monk Arseny Sukhanov returned from a purchasing expedition to Athos (sponsored by the Patriarch of Moscow) with 479

was little demand for Greek manuscripts in Russia, and available evidence suggests that few could read or write Greek. Statistics compiled from present manuscript holdings in major Soviet libraries show that of the 190 extant manuscripts belonging to the period between the eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries, 162 are Church Slavonic or Russian, seventeen are Bulgarian, nine are Serbian and none are Greek.[11] Though in the Muscovite period the number of Greek manuscripts increases, the oldest extant Greek manuscript from Soviet collections is known to have been copied outside Russia and brought there in 1381,[12] and only twenty-two extant Greek manuscripts are known to have been copied in Russia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mostly by Greeks in Russian service.[13] When the first complete Russian codex of the Bible was compiled in Novgorod in 1499, most of the books of the New Testament unavailable in a Slavonic version had to be translated from German or Latin, since Greek manuscripts of New Testament books were scarce and there were few translators capable of providing a reliable translation.[14] Even in 1642 the Patriarchal Library in Moscow possessed a mere five manuscripts and one printed book in Greek.[15]

"Hellenic wisdom" thus came to the Russian public having been processed twice: first by a Christian exegete, then by a Greek, Russian or South Slav translator. The consequences of this double processing can be seen in the examples which follow, taken from hagiographic, chronographic and florilegic works – the three genres of literature from which the Russian reader gained most of his knowledge of the "classical tradition".[16]

Greek MSS and printed books; B.L. Fonkich, *Grechesko-russkie kul'turnye svyazi v XV-XVII vekakh* (Moscow, 1977), 103. Among these was a fifteenth-century edition of Aristotle (*ibid.*, 85), a sixteenth-century MS of Galen's *Opera omnia* (*ibid.*, 141) and many other classical treasures.

11. B.V. Sapunov, *Kniga v Rossii v 11-13 vekakh* (Leningrad, 1978), 34. Statistics based on contemporary MSS holdings can only indicate the nature of eleventh to thirteenth-century collections. It is curious, however, that no Greek MSS survive from a period when the relationship between the Russian Metropolitanate and the Byzantine Patriarchate was particularly close, and when many members of the Russian Church hierarchy were Greek.
12. E.E. Granstrem, "Chernets Malakhiya filosof", *Arkheograficheskiy ezhegodnik*, 1962, 69-70.
13. Fonkich, *op.cit.*, 10-67.
14. A. Gorsky and K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavyanskikh rukopisey Moskovskoy sinodal'noy biblioteki* (Moscow, 1855), I, 79 and 120; H. Raab, "Germanoslawisches im Ostseeraum an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der E.U. Arndt-Universität Greifswald (Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe)*, 6 (1956/7), 58.
15. S. Belokurov, *O biblioteke moskovskikh gosudarey v XVI-om stoletii*, (Moscow, 1899), 50. A late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century MS from the Historical Museum in Moscow contains the following amusing postscript to a copy of the Greek alphabet: "He who wants to learn the Hellenic or Greek language should know that it is impossible to master without the guidance of a teacher because the wise men of antiquity made it unreasonably difficult" (State Historical Museum, Moscow, Shchuk, 684, f. 73).
16. V.N. Perets, "Svedeniya ob antichnom mire v drevney Rusi XI-XIV vekov", *Germes*, 21 (1913), Nos. 13-20; 22 (1918), Nos. 8-12; E.D. Frolov, *Russkaya istoriografiya antichnosti* (Leningrad, 1967), 13-25; O.V. Tvorogov, "Antichnye mify v drevnerusskoy literature XI-XVI vv", *TrDrLit*, 33 (1979), 3-31.

The *Vita* of St Basil the Great introduced the Russian reader to the figure of Homer, whose verse (not cited in the *Vita*) St Basil rendered into rhetorical prose, "for he had learnt the hellenic arts". But St Basil had also "torn hellenic deceit asunder as if it were a spider's web". The *Vita* of St Eustratios warned not only against "hellenic deceit" but also against Homer, shunned by the saint because Homer and others like him "had made Zeus responsible for good and evil".[17]

A fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Vita* of St Constantine-Cyril shows that such an introduction to Homer left the Russian reader unenlightened. Constantine's education in Constantinople is described thus: ". . . he was sent to teachers for instruction and in three months he completely mastered reading and writing, and he turned to further study. And he learnt *omir* and geometry and from Leo and Photios, he [learnt] dialectics and all philosophical wisdom, and he [learnt] rhetoric and arithmetic and astronomy and music and all such hellenic arts".[18] It is clear that to the fifteenth-century scribe who copied this *Vita* the word *omir* (Homer) represented an obscure subject similar to geometry and arithmetic.[19]

Translated historical works, particularly the chronicles of Hamartolos and Malalas, both known in a Slavonic translation in Russia by the eleventh century,[20] have been described as the "Russian readers' first textbooks of world history, from which they could draw information about the classical period".[21] The way this information was presented can be seen from the Slavonic recension of Malalas' *Chronographia.*

There is no complete Slavonic manuscript of this work, and no proof that it ever existed as a separate work. Large fragments are found in several Russian chronicle compilations, with books I, II, IV and V, dealing with classical history, being especially common.[22] As a result chronicles which incorporate these fragments are "the richest source of references to classical literature",[23] in Kievan and Muscovite Russia.

The author of the *Chronographia* was keen to demonstrate his acquaintance with classical authors, and his account of the world of antiquity abounds with references to the "very wise" Herodotus, Virgil, Plato, Homer, Euripides and others. His respect for their wisdom was, however, tempered by the consciousness that his was a Christian history. He did not hesitate to alter the story of the "very wise Virgil and Servius the Roman" if it failed to conform with the Christian ethos – thus,

17. A.N. Egunov, *Gomer v russkikh perevodakh XVIII-XIX vekov* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), 8.
18. P.A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknoveniya drevney slavyanskoy pis'mennosti* (reprint, The Hague, 1966), 4.
19. In the published *Vita* all proper nouns were capitalised by the editor, *idem, op.cit.*, xx.
20. O.V. Tvorogov, *Drevne-russkie khronografy* (Leningrad, 1975), 9; A.D. Deryugin, "Vergily v drevnem slavyanskom perevode khroniki Ioanna Malaly", *Antichonost' i Vizantiya,* 351; Meshchersky, *art.cit.*, 226.
21. Frolov, *op.cit.*, 14.
22. Tvorogov, *op.cit.*, 13-17; Frolov, *op.cit.*, 13-18; Deryugin, *art.cit.*, 351.
23. Deryugin, *art.cit.*, 351.

Malalas' Dido founds Carthage and "dies virtuously", instead of meeting Aeneas and committing suicide on a pyre for love of him.[24]

In the Slavonic Malalas the Christian ethos is underlined. The reader is constantly reminded that all history is part of the divine plan which started with the Creation. In Book I the Greek Malalas tells of Semiramis-Rhea giving birth to Picus – the Slavonic redaction adds that Semiramis-Rhea "was also of the generation of Shem, son of Noah".[25] To demonstrate that the gods of antiquity were pagan creations, the Slavonic redactor carefully glosses his original.[26] "After the death of Hephaistos the Egyptians were ruled by his son Helios"[27] is rendered as "After the death of *Feost,* also called Svarog, the Egyptians were ruled by his son, the Sun, who is called Dazhbog".[28] The Russian reader might not have known who *Feost* (Hephaistos in the Slavonic transliteration) was, but he would have been well aware that Svarog and Dazhbog were pagan gods who were shown to be powerless idols after the conversion of the Slavs.

There is some confusion in Malalas' original regarding the names of gods and goddesses (as in the above equation between Queen Semiramis and the goddess Rhea). In the Slavonic version of the chronicle the confusion is increased by variations in transliteration and by mistranslation. Thus Semiramis-Rhea has a child by Kronos called Picus or Zeus. In the Slavonic translation she gives birth to "a son, Kronos, called Picus, named Zeus by his parents".[29] The Greek, "φράσον μοι πυρισθενές, ἀψευδές, μάκαρ, ὁ τὸν αἰθέριον μετεγκλίνων δρόμον" becomes "tell me, o lying god Perisphones, called the Sun, who moves along the airway, shining".[30]

The Russian reader was unlikely to obtain much useful information about the classical world from such an account. In spite of pious references to classical authors, the attitude of the author of the *Chronicle* towards their wisdom was as contradictory as that found in hagiography. From Book VI the reader could learn that "When Macedon reigned . . . among the Hellenes there lived the philosophers and writers *Sosofiklis* (Sophocles) and *Iraklitos* and *Eurepid* and *Irod* (usually the Slavonic name of King Herod, but here a transliteration of Herodotus) and *Sokrat* and the great *Pyfagora*".[31] Further on he would learn of *"Ippasy* (Hippasus), a

24. John Malalas, *Chronographia,* ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 163.
25. V.M. Istrin, "Pervaya kniga Khroniki Ioanna Malaly", *MASP,* 1/3 (1897). [Parallel Greek and Slavonic text. Hereafter Istrin, "Khronika I"], 18.
26. E.M. Shustorovich, "Khronika Ioanna i antichnaya traditiya v drevnerusskoy literature", *TrDrLit,* 23 (1968), 66-7.
27. Malalas, *op.cit.,* 23.
28. Istrin, "Khronika Ioanna Malaly v slavyanskom perevode, kniga II" *Letopis' istoriko-filologicheskogo obsachestva pri Novorossiyskom Universitete,* 10/7 (1902), hereafter Istrin, "Khronika II", 465.
29. Istrin, "Khronika I", 12.
30. Malalas, *op.cit.,* 25; Istrin, "Khronika II", 466.
31. V.M. Istrin, "Khronika Ioanna Malaly v slavyanskom perevode, kniga VI i VII", *Sbornik obshchestva russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti,* 89/3 (1911), 11; cf. Malalas, *op.cit.,* 161.

Pythagorean philosopher, who invented the circle of the heavens consisting of twelve beings, travelled on a ship and was drowned by waves and died. There was also *Iskra* (the Slavonic word for "spark", but here a rendering of Isocrates) and at the same time there lived *Perikles* and *Faukididis* (Thucydides) who described the Peloponnesian and Athenian wars. At the same time there lived *Faukididis* (sic) and *Stisikhor* and *Vakkhulides* who invented dancing. These were the teachers (*uchiteli* = instructors, preachers) of the Hellenes and after them came Demosthenes and Aristophanes the writer of songs . . ."[32] But then, in Book VII, the reader would find that in the years after the deposition of Tarquin . . . before Caesar Julius . . . after Joachim the archpriest there also lived among the Jews *Adus* (Addus) and the hellenic philosopher and very wise teacher Plato, who wrote to Timaeus about God, saying that the divinity has three names, and that the power and divinity were one. He said that the first ⟨name⟩ was the goodness which had love for all. The second was the wisdom which created all. The third was the life-creating soul given life. He believed that the three forces were one divinity. This is also what the holy bishop Cyril wrote in his books against Julian, saying that all had stated that the Trinity was one God . . . in the years of the same Plato there lived other hellenic teachers, *Ksenofont, Eskhinos* and Aristotle who deceived by metamorphosing (literally "putting soul into") human beings. For the daughter of *Lykon* (Lycaeon), called *Kallisti* was said to have been metamorphosed into a she-bear, and *Ipoimeneia,* daughter of *Mager* (Megareus) into a lion, and Io, daughter of *Inakh* (Inachus) into a heifer . . . and this is how they evilly deceived, as did others after them".[33]

It is clear that the Russian reader could be entertained and instructed by such writing, but he was unlikely to obtain much useful information about the world of antiquity. The same applies, as Speransky has shown, to florilegia,[34] and in particular to the *Melissa.* This was known in Russia in a Slavonic translation from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century,[35] and was extensively used as a "dictionary of quotations" by Russian writers.

The *Melissa* groups quotations according to subject matter into chapters which provide advice on matters of everyday importance, such as the choice of a wife. Within each chapter the quotations are grouped hierarchically, with the New Testament at the top, followed by the Old Testament, Fathers of the Church and "external" philosophers. The latter are also subdivided according to importance, with writers on ethics, such as Plutarch, taking precedence over Alexander the Great and Socrates.[36]

32. *Ibid.*, 17; cf. Malalas, *op.cit.*, 169.
33. *Ibid.*, 29; cf. Malalas, *op.cit.*, 189.
34. M.N. Speransky, "Perevodnye sborniki izrecheniy v slavyanorusskoy pis'mennosti", *Chteniya v obshchestve istorii i drevnostey rossiyskikh,* 1905 (1 & 2), *passim.*
35. *Ibid.*, 1905 (1), 299-319.
36. *Ibid.*, 211-3.

It has been suggested that the *Melissa* was "an important vehicle for the transmission of the ideas of classical authors to the Russian world"[37] but mechanical errors and ignorance meant that such ideas were often transmitted inaccurately. The common interchanging of Socrates and Isocrates, Democritus and Dimocritus[38] and others shows that to the Slavonic translator or scribe the source of a given aphorism was not half as important as the aphorism itself.

The *Melissa* was unlikely to provide the Russian reader with an understanding of the philosophy of antiquity. It divorced the "external philosophers" from their pagan past, and it is not surprising to find that the oldest extant MS of the Slavonic *Melissa* contains the following heading: "The philosophers' sayings about those who prophesied before Christ about Christ and the Church, the house of the Holy Mother of God".[39] This contains the prophecies of *Apolon* (Apollo, instead of *Apolony,* Apollonius), Solomon, Chilon, Plutarch, *Arsitel* (Aristotle) and Plato.[40]

The "classical tradition" came to Russia at second hand, and, until the seventeenth century, few Russians had any idea of what "hellenic wisdom" really was. Little wonder then, that a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Hexaemeron is headed: *"Shestodnev,* copied[41] by John, presbyter and exarch, from Saints Basil, John, Severian, Aristotle the philosopher and others . . .",[42] that a seventeenth-century scribe copies "words from the glossary of Aristotle, the theology of Plato and the poetics of many philosophers: these books will allow any philosopher to compile his own book. Its title is *Omiro*"[43] (Homer again). A sixteenth-century copyist of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum* could ascribe the work to the Holy Aristotle[44] – and a sixteenth-century artist could canonise the hellenic philosophers and Sibyls in the Tree of Jesse.

37. Frolov, *op.cit.*, 20.
38. Speransky, *art.cit.*, 1905 (1), 285.
39. V. Semenov, "Drevnyaya russkaya Pchela po pergamennomu spisku", *Sbornik obshchestva russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti,* 54 (1893), xxvi-xxvii.
40. There are many variants of the "prophecies" of the pre-Christian philosophers and though no version known to me coincided completely with a pictorial representation of the "hellenic philosophers" the article and the depiction are clearly closely related and may have a common source. See above, note 8.
41. The word *s"pisano* can be translated as "copied" or "compiled"; the fact that no linguistic distinction between the two concepts existed in the fifteenth century is in itself interesting.
42. State Historical Museum, Moscow, Sin. 54 (345), fol. 7; A. Gorsky and K. Nevostruev *op.cit.*, II, pt. 1, 6-11.
43. State Historical Museum, Moscow, Sin. 158 (433), fol. 1v.
44. A.S. Arkhangel'sky, *Obrazovanie i literatura v Moskovskom gosudarstve kontsa XI-XVII vv.* (Kazan', 1898), 120.

The Reliquary Cross of Leo Domestikos tes Dyses

LASKARINA BOURAS

The reliquary cross of Leo recently acquired by the Museum of Art and History in Geneva (accession no. AD 3062) allegedly comes from Asia Minor and is attributed to the tenth or the eleventh century.[1] The cross measures 36.4 x 23.7 cm. and it is only 1.0 cm. thick. Like most of the elaborate Middle Byzantine processional crosses, it is plated with thin silver sheets[2] mounted on a bronze case which was most probably intended to hold some fragment of the True Cross. The bronze case consists of two interlocking parts of U-shaped section held together by five clips (fig. 19). The flaring arms of the cross end in pairs of discs decorated with a four-pointed star, or with a stylized floral ornament. Otherwise the embellishment of the cross is limited to two carefully engraved and gilded uncial inscriptions (figs. 18, 19).

There is little doubt that the elegant form of the Leo cross is to be attributed to a Middle Byzantine revival of the Early Christian silver crosses "with pairs of drops", a fine example of which is the cross of Phela in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.[3] These early crosses may also account for the cruciform uncial inscriptions which appear on a number of other Middle Byzantine crosses, such as the cross of Niketas Gezianos in the Corinth Museum.[4]

I have so far been unable to establish direct parallels for the four pointed stars which decorate most of the outer discs of the Leo cross. Nevertheless, the stylized floral ornament observed on the two lower discs of the reverse side is an islamicizing split palmette closely resembling some of the enamelled ornaments of the Limburg reliquary (A.D. 963-985).[5]

The uncial characters of the two cruciform inscriptions consist of alternate single or double-etched bars with hooked ends similar to those employed in the eucharistic inscription on the chalice of the Grand Logothete Sisinios which dates between 959

1. "Principales acquisitions des Musées en 1977", *GBA*, 91, March supplement (1978), 84.
2. A. Grabar, "La précieuse croix de la Lavra Saint Athanase au Mont Athos", *CahArch*, 19 (1969), 121.
3. E. Bland and S. Boyd, *Handbook of the Byzantine Collection* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1967), no. 73.
4. *Byzantine Art – an European Art*, Catalogue (Athens, 1964), no. 555.
5. J.M. Wilm, "Die Limburger Staurothek", *Das Münster*, 8 (1955), 237, Abb. 34. For similar patterns in manuscript illumination see A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament", *ArtB*, 16 (1934), pl. 23.2.

and 961 A.D.[6] The cruciform inscriptions are accompanied by accentuation marks as a rule omitted from similar inscriptions on metalwork.[7] A tiny cross on the upper arm marks the beginning of the two inscriptions which read from top to bottom and then from left to right. Two other ornamental marks at the middle and end of the vertical part of the inscriptions separate the latter into three parts, which are in fact three iambic dodecasyllables. Similar punctuation marks are occasionally employed in manuscripts, as for example, in the epigrams which frame the miniatures of the Leo Bible (ca. 940).[8] It is clear that the two metric inscriptions of the Geneva cross form an epigram especially composed for the reliquary, which reads as follows:

+ ἜΡΓΟΝ ΦΈΡΙΣΤΟΝ ἘΚ ΠΌΘΟΥ ΓΈΓΟΝΌΤΑ:~
ΤΈΤΕΥΧΕ ΛΈΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΆΡΧΗΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΌΝΩΝ:~
ΠΑΤΡΪΚΙΌΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΜΈΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΔΥΣΗΣ:~
+ ΠΟΘΩ̃Ν ΤΌΝ ΘΕΊΟΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΈΤΗΝ:~
ΤΟΝ ἘΝ ΤΑΪ̃Σ ΧΟΝΑΙΣ ΕΙΔΗ ΝΕΟΝ ΦΑΝΈΝΤΑ:~
ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΣΘΕῚΣ ΑΫ́ΘΙΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΝΊΤΗΣ

This priceless work, the outcome of devotion,
was created by Leo, first commander of the Macedonians,
patrikios, and *domestikos tes Dyses.*

Longing for St Michael, the commander of armies
the one of Chonae who presently reappeared,
his name being changed henceforth to Damokranites.

The reliquary cross is described as *ergon pheriston,* i.e. best of all works.[9] The first part of the epigram reveals the identity of the donor as a distinguished military leader, while the second part represents an encomium for the Archangel Michael, to whom the cross is dedicated.

We are informed first of all that the donor was *protarches Makedonon. Protarches* is usually interpreted as *protos archon,* i.e. first in command, typically in a military

6. M. Ross, "The Chalice of Sisinios the Grand Logothete", *GRBS,* 2 (1950), pl. 1.
7. Accents are also employed in the uncial inscription decorating the reliquary cross of Maastricht in the Vatican: W. Wentzel, "Das byzantinische Erbe der Ottonischen Kaiser II", *Aachener Kunstblätter,* 43 (1972), Abb. 48.
8. C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Gr. I and the Macedonian Renaissance", *ActaIRNorv,* 4 (1969), pl.2.
9. *Pheriston* is another superlative of *kalos;* it is employed in a similar way in the introductory epigram of the *Naumachika* which were composed by order of Basil Lekapenos in 958 or 959 A.D.: W.G. Brokkaar, "Basil Lakapenus", *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica,* 3 (1972), 215, note 2.

context.[10] The appellation also designates St Michael.[11] Although *protarches* is not a Byzantine technical term, Leo's other two titles suggest that he may have commanded some Macedonian army.

The title *patrikios* represents one of the highest dignities unattached to office[12] and suggests that Leo must have been a member of the Byzantine nobility. The third title, namely the *domestikos tes Dyses* is particularly helpful for identifying the donor, since the office was held by only one man at a time. Moreover, it is widely accepted that Romanos II initiated the office, probably around 959, for the purpose of confronting the repeated invasions into Macedonia and Thrace from the north.[13]

The second part of the epigram refers to the donor's devotion to the Archangel Michael, the one who was in Chonae and who has recently appeared again, either in Chonae or elsewhere. The meaning of the last line is even more ambiguous, since it is difficult to determine whether *metonomastheis* refers to the donor Leo, as the nominative can imply, or to the Archangel Michael, as do the two previous lines of the epigram.

In any case, "Damokranites" must derive from Damokraneia, one of the western suburbs of Constantinople, situated near the gulf of Athyr, now called Büyük Cekmege.[14] In a church of St Michael in this very suburb; Constantine Monomachos received in June 1042 the imperial garments from Stephanos Pergamenos, the trusted eunuch of the empress Zoe.[15] If in fact "Damokranites" refers to the donor, it must represent a new family name. But was it legitimate to abandon one's family name in Byzantium to adopt a new one? The only possibility I can think of is that "Damokranites" may indicate the attachment of Leo to some monastic community. Nevertheless, no Byzantine monastery is known to have existed in Damokraneia and the church of St Michael which Monomachos visited suggests that the last line of the epigram applies to the Archangel. If this is true, the participle *metonomastheis* has been employed ungrammatically. Two other, more obvious errors in the Leo epigram indicate that this may well be the case. At the end of the first line, the author uses the masculine participle *gegonota* instead of the neuter *gegonos,* while at the end of the third line the title ought properly to be *domestikos tes Dyseos* and not *tes Dyses.* In these two cases, grammar was compromised

10. *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae,* s.v. πρωτάρχης – πρωτόαρχος . Cf. *RAC,* V, 102.
11. K. Doukakes, *Megas Synaxaristes Septembriou* (Athens, 1894), 97.
12. N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), 294-5.
13. H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire Byzantin aux IX^e-XI^e siècles", *BCH,* 84 (1960), 58.
14. The identification was made by A. Paspates, "Ta Thrakika proasteia tou Byzantiou", Ελλφιλοσύλλ . , 12 (1878), 35.
15. John Skylitzes, *Historiarum Compendium,* ed. I. Thurn (CFHB, 5, Berlin, 1973), 423; cf. George Kedrenos, *Historiarum Compendium,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn. 1838), 542; John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum,* ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1856), III, 616: Nikephoros Bryennios, *Hyle Historias,* ed. P. Gautier (CFHB, 9, Brussels, 197), 263.

probably for the sake of the metre, and this suggests that the author may also have employed the wrong case of the participle *metonomastheis,* meaning to refer to the Archangel. If we accept this argument, then the difficulties in interpreting the second part of the epigram are resolved: Leo expresses his devotion to St Michael, the commander of armies (*strategetes*)[16] the one who was established in Chonae, who has presently appeared again, presumably in Damokraneia, and henceforth is given the new name "Damokranites", just as he had previously been called "Choniates".[17]

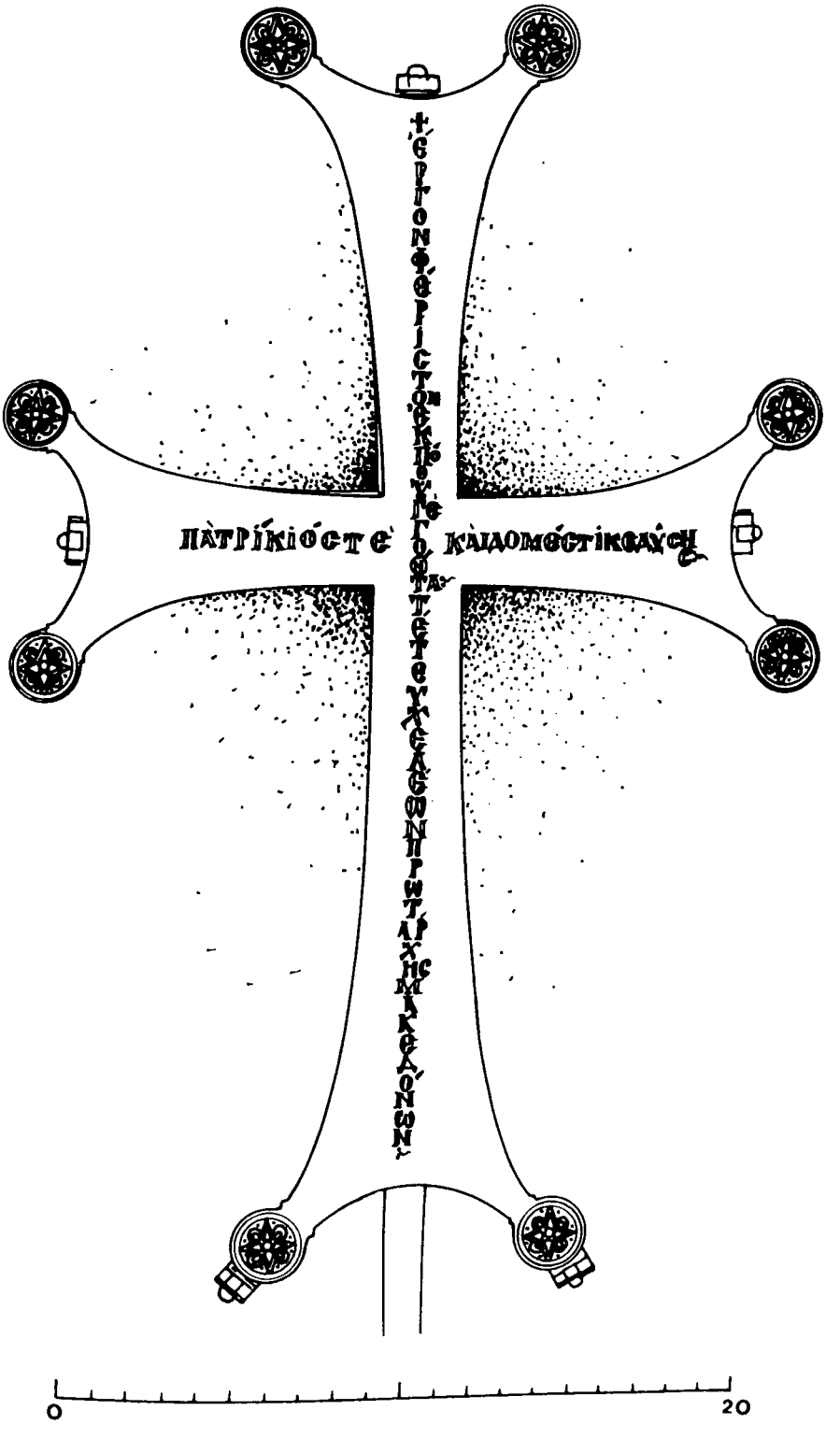
Referring to the dedication of crosses to a particular saint or angel, Michael Psellos attributes this practice to the popular belief that the faithful could thereby claim, in addition to the grace inherent in the celebrated trophy itself, the protection of their own patron saint or angel.[18] To prove his argument, Psellos offers the example of the emperor Heraclius, who having similarly dedicated a cross to the Archangel Michael, managed to turn the empire's enemies to flight.[19] In this sense, the epigram under consideration may be interpreted as a supplication to the patron saint of all soldiers and captain of the holy host, the Archangel Michael.[20]

More specifically, Leo appears to invoke the protection of Archangel Michael the Damokranites. It is true that this "recent" miracle in Damokraneia which is alluded to in the fifth line of the epigram *(eide neon phanenta)* is not recorded by Pantoleon the Deacon in the highly detailed account of the Archangel's thirty-six major miracles.[21] Nevertheless, if Pantoleon's text antedates the manufacture of the cross, as it may well do,[22] this omission is then easily explicable.

As we mentioned before, the office of the *domestikos tes Dyses* held by the donor offers a *terminus post quem* for the manufacture of the cross, namely the 10th of November 959, when Romanos II ascended the Byzantine throne.[23] Moreover, it seems that only one Leo is known to have held the post; the brilliant general Leo Phokas, brother of the Emperor Nikephoros II, who celebrated two triumphs in Constantinople for his victorious campaigns against the Arabs.[24]

16. Note the juxtaposition of Leo *protarches Makedonon* and St Michael *strategetes.*
17. On the miracle of Chonae see M. Bonnet, "Diegesis kai apokalypsis tou hagiou patros hemon Archippou kai prosmonariou tou panseptou oikou tou archangelou Michael en tais Chonais", *AnalBoll,* 8 (1889), 289-307. Cf. J.P. Rolland, *Der Erzengel Michael* (Leiden, 1977), 114.
18. Michael Psellos, *Scripta Minora,* I, eds. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl (Milan, 1936), 124.
19. *Ibid.*
20. A similar epigram concerning an icon of the Archangel Michael was composed by order of *protostrator* Glabas: Manuel Philes, *Carmina,* I, ed. E. Miller (Paris, 1855), 438.
21. PG, 140, col. 573. Cf. E. Kuhn, "Zur byzantinischen Erzählungsliteratur", *BZ,* 9 (1900), 382-7.
22. C. Mango, "The Date of the Studius Basilica at Istanbul", *BMGS,* 4 (1978), 118.
23. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Jersey, 1957), 251.
24. Skylitzes, *op.cit.,* 241, and 250. For further information concerning Leo's biographical data see I. Djuric, "Porodica Foka", *ZVI,* 17 (1976), 249 ff.

Opposite:
Fig. 18: The reliquary cross of Leo, obverse side


ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟCΤΕ
ΚΑΙΔΟΜΕCΤΙΚΟCΤΗ
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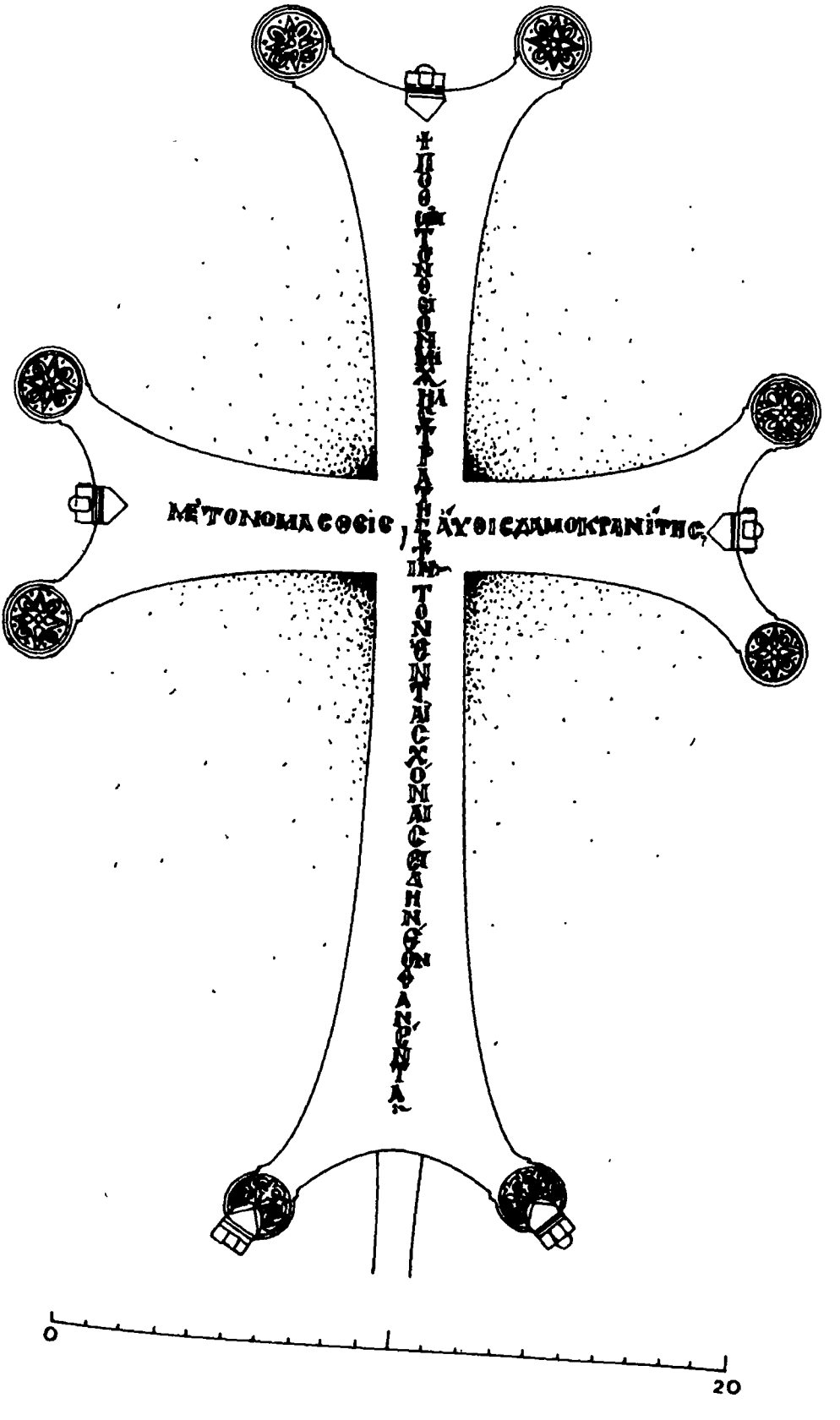
Leo Phokas was awarded the title of *patrikios* in 945, while still general of his native Cappadocia, for his participation in the coup against the Lekapenids which restored Constantine Porphyrogennetos to the throne.[25] Some ten years later he was promoted *strategos ton Anatolikon;*[26] we next encounter him in 959 or 960 as *domestikos tes Dyseos* under the Emperor Romanos II.[27] During the same reign he also appears as *magistros,* though the precise date of this promotion is uncertain.[28] Nevertheless, his appointment as *domestikos tes Dyseos* was short lived, for he soon became *domestikos tes Anatoles,*[29] from 13 July 960 to March 961, in place of his brother Nikephoros, during the latter's campaign against the Arabs in Crete.[30] After Nikephoros' elevation to the throne in 963, Leo Phokas apparently abandoned his military career to become *kouropalates*[31] by which title he is often recorded by Byzantine historians.[32] Liutprand of Cremona, who visited Constantinople in 968, informs us that Leo was also at that time *logothetes tou dromou,* in other words responsible for the foreign affairs of the Byzantine State.[33]

There is little doubt that Leo faithfully served his reigning brother until Nikephoros' violent death in 969. Some historians accuse him of planning to succeed Nikephoros at the expense of the two sons of Romanos II, Basil and

25. The other participants in the coup were: Marianos Argyros, Basil Peteinos, Nikephoros Phokas, Nicholas and Leo Tornikios, see J.F. Vannier, *Les Argyroi* (Paris 1975), 30.
26. Theophanes Continuatus, *op.cit.*, 479; Skylitzes, *op.cit.*, 250.
27. *Ibid.*, 472, 758. Cf. Leo Diakonos, *Historia,* ed. C.B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), 18.
28. Skylitzes, *op.cit.*, 250: "... ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Νικηφόρου τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐνδιατρίβοντος....Λέοντα τὸν Φωκᾶν....μάγιστρον τιμήσας" Leon Diakonos, *op.cit.*, 49, 7: "Βάρδαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα (ὁ Νικηφόρος) εἰς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴν προεβίβασε ...τὸν δέ ἴδιον σύναιμον, κουροπαλάτην καὶ μάγιστρον προβάλλεται". Cf. R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin 1967), I, 445, note 329.
29. Theophanes Continuatus, *op.cit.*, 479; Skylitzes, *op.cit.*, 250.
30. N. Panagiotakes, *Theodosios Diakonos kai to Poiema autou Halosis tes Kretes* (Herakleion, 1960), 33, note 86; 35, note 92.
31. Leo Diakonos, *op.cit.*, 49; 64, "...τοῦ συναίμου αὐτοῦ Λέοντος καὶ κουροπαλάτου....ὅστις τὸν ἀνδρώδη καὶ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτοῦ βίον παρωσάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀστικὸν φιλοκερδῆ μετετάξατο..." Cf. R. Guilland, "Le Curopalate", *Byzantina,* 2 (1970), 200.
32. *Ibid.*, 200.
33. Liutprand, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana,* ed. I. Bekker (MGH, *ScriptRerGerm.*, Leipzig, 1917), 183, 25. Cf. N. Oikonomides, *op.cit.*, 311.

Opposite:
Fig. 19: The reliquary cross of Leo, reverse side


+ΠΡΟCΤΙΘΕCΘΕΙΚΑΙΠΕΤΡΑΔΕΚΕΙΤΟΝCΥΝΤΑCCΟΝΤΑΙCΘΑΝΗCΦΑΝΕΝΤΑΙ.
ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑCΟCΙΟ, ΑΥΟΙCΑΜΟΚΤΑΝΙΤΗC,
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Constantine,[34] but, as Leo the Deacon says, he was to be bitterly disillusioned.[35] It seems that shortly after the assassination of Nikephoros II, Leo was arrested and exiled to the island of Lesbos. Two years later, after an unsuccessful revolt against John Tzimiskes, Leo was blinded by imperial order, and his vast fortune was confiscated.[36] Therefore, if the Geneva cross was commissioned by Leo Phokas, this commission can only have occurred between November 959 and July 960, the only recorded period in which Leo served as *domestikos tes Dyseos.*

The *Life* of St Athanasios of Mt Athos provides some additional information concerning the activities of Leo Phokas while *domestikos tes Dyseos.* According to this text, Leo visited St Athanasios after some successful campaign against the Scythians, and became the second founder of the Protaton church in Karyai.[37] This campaign apparently took place in late 959 or early 960.[38] The Scythians, elsewhere mentioned as Turks or Huns,[39] must refer to the Magyars who repeatedly invaded Bulgaria and Thrace between 958 and 961.[40]

The only remaining obstacle to identifying Leo Phokas as the donor of the Leo cross is the lack, in so far as I know, of proper evidence which would account for the appellation *protarches Makedonon.* It is true that Leo Phokas, who was of Cappadocian origin, had no known relation to Macedonia; in fact, the short term he served as *domestikos tes Dyseos* was the only time he had any connection with the western provinces. Nevertheless, the information provided by Byzantine historians about the next *domestikos tes Dyseos,* Marianos Argyros, offers some plausible explanation concerning this latter difficulty. Marianos led a successful campaign against the Magyars similar to that of Leo Phokas and is mentioned as *monostrategos Makedonias* and *Katepano tes Dyseos.*[41] Since the ninth century the theme of

34. Leo Diakonos, *op.cit.*, 146; cf. Zonaras, *op.cit.*, 89.
35. Leo Diakonos, *op.cit.*, 146: "....ἀντὶ πορφυρίδος λαμπρᾶς καὶ σκήπτρων χρυσῶν καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ὡς μὴ ὤφειλεν ἐμελέτησεν ἐκτύφλωσιν πικρὰν καὶ ὑπερορίαν μακρὰν καὶ δήμευσιν τῶν οἰκείων ἡ τύχη ἐσκαιωρεῖτο, ἐπιγελῶσά που τοῖς ἐλπιζομένοις τ'ἀνδρί".
36. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches* (Munich and Berlin, 1924), I, 971.
37. P. Lemerle. "La vie ancienne de Saint Athanase l'Athonite", *Le millénaire du Mont Athos* (Chevetogne, 1963), I, 95. Cf. L. Petit, "La vie de Saint Athanase l'Athonite", *AnalBoll,* 25 (1906), 20; 27.
38. P. Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 96. Cf. D. Papachrysanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris, 1975), 72; 74.
39. Leo Diakonos, *op.cit.*, 18 "....σκυθικὴ στρατιά, Οὕννους το ἔθνος κατονομάζουσι". Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, *op.cit.*, 480, "....τῶν δὲ Τούρκων ἐκστρατεύαν πρυησάντων κατὰ τῆς Θράκης...".
40. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam, 1970), 57.
41. Theophanes Continuatus, *op.cit.*, 480, "....τοῦ πατρικίου Μαριανοῦ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ μονοστρατηγοῦντος ἐν τῷ θέματι τῆς Μακεδονίας καί κατεπάνω ὄντος τῆς δύσεως" Is it possible that the appointment of a *monostrategos Makedonias* is related to the omission of the general of Macedonia in the *Taktikon* of Escurial?

Macedonia encompassed an area between the rivers Strymon and Hebros including the European coast of Propontis,[42] thus it was the main theme where resistance against the Scythians or Magyars was organized. Marianos Argyros, like Leo Phokas shortly before him, had been appointed military commander with wide authority responsible for the defence of the northern frontier[43] from the invasions of the Scythians. Therefore, in my view *protarches Makedonon* may well be interpreted as a poetic form of the expression *monostrategountos en themati Makedonias* which was employed to describe Marianos.

We may thus conclude that the elegant form of the Leo cross and the graceful uncial inscriptions reflect a revival of earlier models of the sixth or the seventh century. In a broad sense, the epigram accompanying the Geneva cross represents another characteristic revival form which became particularly popular among the members of the Byzantine aristocracy of the tenth century.[44] On the other hand, the evidence of the epigraphy and the islamicizing floral ornament also suggest a tenth-century date, which is confirmed by identifying Leo Phokas as the donor. If this identification is correct, then the Geneva cross must be dated between November 959 and July 960.[45]

42. S. Kyriakides, "To Boleron", *Byzantinai Meletai* (Thessalonike, 1937-9), IV, 389, 394, see also the accompanying map.
43. Cf. H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, *art.cit.*, 30.
44. A. Cameron, "The Rediscovery of the Hellenistic Epigram at Byzantium", *Abstracts of the Byzantine Studies Conference,* 3 (1977), 66.
45. I should like to acknowledge the advice and help I have received in the preparation of this paper from Professors P. Lemerle and C. Mango. I am also grateful to Dr A. Marcopoulos and to S. Reinert for many helpful suggestons. Any possible error remains my own.

THE TURNING-POINT OF THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY

The Classical Tradition in Barbarian Treasures North of the Danube

NUBAR HAMPARTUMIAN

As is well known, a large number of the silver and gold Roman treasures of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. were found in the peripheral areas of the Empire and some of the most important of them came to light even far beyond the imperial frontiers in "barbaricum".[1]

The large number of such discoveries (to which an impressive number of single finds must be added) attests the growth in production of silver and gold objects as a result of the increasing demand for such commodities both by the Roman aristocracy and by barbarian chieftains. They occurred in the territories under barbarian domination, outside the official imperial frontiers as a result of trade, loot or as presents given by the Emperors to barbarian rulers, whether potential allies or enemies.

Among such treasures of the fourth and fifth centuries found in "barbaricum" to the North of the Danube, in the territory of present-day Roumania, we will here dwell on three which are the most significant as regards the persistence of classical tradition in Late Roman art, namely those found at Pietroasa, Conceşti, and Apahida.

The Pietroasa treasure

The Pietroasa treasure[2] found in the South Carpathian hilly zone in 1837, was long associated with the Visigothic king Athanaric, but according to the most recent researches carried out by Romanian archaeologists it must be attributed to the Ostrogoths and dated to the middle of the fifth century A.D., rather than the fourth century A.D. Its burial is regarded as a consequence of the events and disturbances which took place in the Carpatho-Danubian area which followed the collapse of the Hunnic empire after the death of Attila in 453. It consists of various gold objects, vases and ornaments worked in "repoussé" technique and decorated in a polychrome style: a large plate, jug and patera, cups, fibulas and collars.

The large plate and the jug (whose shape recalls the fusiform vessels encountered in Hellenistic pottery) are basically decorated with simple geometrical and floral

1. For a general study see R. Theodorescu, *Un mileniu de ărta la Dunarea de Jos (400-1400)* (Bucharest, 1976), 38-89.
2. I. Horedt, "Datarea tezaurului de la Pietroasa", *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 8 6 (1969), 549-52; R. Harhoiu, *The Treasure from Pietroasa, Romania* (BAR, 24, 1977), including full bibliography.

patterns (hatched or in relief) which were common and very popular in the repertory of classical decoration of metal-working, such as volutes, wavy lines, triangles, acanthus leaves, rosettes and rows of beads. The patera (fig. 20) is decorated with a row of sixteen human figures in different attitudes, arranged in a broad zone enclosed by two twisted cordons; this zone is bordered by a circular frieze decorated with stalks of vine leaves and grapes. The central figure of decoration consists of a statuette which rises in the centre of the patera and represents a seated woman on a throne decorated with a vine-stalk, leaves and grapes. Despite the controversy over the interpretation of the figures (Graeco-Roman, Scythian, Sarmatian or German deities, religious procession?) and the unsolved problem of the centre of production (a Greek city on the northern shore of the Black Sea or Antioch in Syria), it is clear that the composition of the scenes and the manner of decoration show a very strong Hellenistic influence besides other elements coming from the non Graeco-Roman world (Parthian, Sassanian, Sarmatian, Scythian).

Other objects of note include two multiangular cups with the handles modelled in the shape of panthers, a small fibula with the foot in the shape of a stylized bird, a pair of middle-size fibulas in the shape of birds with a long thin, curved neck and a large fibula in the shape of an eagle. The bird-motif (which occurs also on the handle of the jug) was widespread in the Scytho-Sarmatian art to the north of the Black Sea and later was to become a favourite pattern in the German world.

Finally, there is an inscription engraved in German runes on one of the collars and which has been plausibly interpreted: "Gutan Iowi hailag" = "To Jupiter of the Goths, devoted" (?).

In the light of current research, the Pietroasa treasure appears most likely to have been the product of a Greek centre on the northern coast of the Black Sea, where Greek cities with a long artistic tradition such as Panticapaeum on the one hand were aware of the Irano-Scythian heritage and on the other were subjected to the cultural impulses and tastes of newcomers, the Sarmatians and later the Goths.

The Concești Treasure

The treasure found at Concesti to the east of the Carpathians in the north-eastern corner of Romania in 1812, belongs to a princely Hunnic grave of the first decades of the fifth century A.D.[3] The grave-goods consisted of silver and gold objects, vessels, a fragmentary helmet and ornaments worked in "repoussé" technique and decorated in polychrome style. The vessels, a silver amphora and a silver situla, are decorated with scenes drawn directly from Graeco-Roman mythology. The main decoration on the body of the silver amphora shows an Amazonomachy

3. L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 121-37, pls. 36-48; A. Alföldi, "Fünde aus der Hunnenzeit und ihrer ethnische Sonderung", *ArchHung*, 9 (1932), 77, pls. 20-1.

Opposite:
Fig. 20: The Patera from Pietroasa

(fig. 21). The two handles are in the form of prancing centaurs. The classical Graeco-Roman theme of decoration is very common on contemporary silver vessels, while the general shape of the vessel and especially the centaur handles recall without any doubt the earlier Graeco-Persian vessels of the fourth century B.C. For this reason, the amphora could be considered as a product of an eastern workshop where such an early type of vessel might still have been a source of inspiration. The shape of the situla and its decoration (mythological figures of Apollo, Daphne, Leda with vegetable patterns) are treated in a manner typical of the Hellenistic tradition.

A niello dish of the same treasure has a complex decoration consisting of a floral and geometric pattern combined with figured elements in the centre and a succession of hunting scenes divided from one another by medallion heads on the raised flange round the edge. It belongs to the widespread category of large Late Roman silver dishes with a central medallion and a border framing a frieze decorated with hunting or mythological scenes. It should be noted that the decoration on the rim, consisting of animal figures and hunting scenes combined with human heads or busts, is a popular form of the decoration in relief which follows the tradition of the third-century dishes with masks and animals.

The Apahida Treasure

The treasure found at Apahida in the inter-Carpathian area, in the Transylvanian plateau in 1889 belongs to a German princely burial.[4] The treasure which is dated to the second half of the fifth century A.D. consisted of silver vessels and several gold and silver ornaments decorated in polychrome style.

The two silver four-sided jugs are decorated in "repoussé" with bacchic scenes showing Satyrs and dancing Maenads in the most purely Graeco-Hellenistic tradition (fig. 22). One of the three golden rings engraved with a cross bears the name Omharus, probably the owner of the treasure which is attributed to the Gepids or, according to the latest hypothesis, to the Ostrogoths.

Conclusion

The silver and gold treasures of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. found in Romania, reflect the well-known features of Late Roman art: the revival and regeneration of the Graeco-Roman classical heritage after the anticlassicism of the third century A.D. All the Late Roman hoards from Britain to the Black Sea show the same tendency. In addition to this common feature, the Romanian finds emphasize the new trends, impulses and innovative changes which finally challenged

4. J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Braunschweig, 1905), II, 39-43; III, pls. 32-6; K. Horedt, *Untersuchungen zür Frühgeschichte Siebenbürgens* (Bucharest, 1958), 72-3.

Opposite:
Fig. 21: The Concești Amphora

the classical tradition and survivals. We refer especially to the fact that the Graeco-Roman classical elements occur side by side with other elements which are alien to the Graeco-Roman world and reflect rather a barbarian taste and preference within the same treasure or even in the same object. In fact the Romanian treasures can be considered as some kind of "cosmopolitan" treasures in accordance with the complexity and ethnic diversity proper to the Danubian world of Late Antiquity, where the barbarians were not only receptive to the cultural influence of the Roman world. but in their turn gave new stimulus and variety to the heirs of the classical heritage.

Opposite:
Fig. 22: The Apahida Jug (detail)

The End of Scythia Minor: the Archaeological Evidence

ANDREW POULTER

The literary sources for the period from Justinian to Heraclius graphically describe the devastation inflicted on the province of Scythia Minor by Bulgars, Huns and Kotrigurs, Avars and Slavs.[1] Maurice, despite the able generalship of Comentiolus, failed to expel the Slavs and break the Avar confederacy.[2] Theophylact Simocatta records the destruction of cities in Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor at the hands of the invaders; Durostorum, Zaldapa, Pannasa, Marcianopolis and Tropaeum (Traiani).[3] The date of this destruction clearly falls in the 580s, perhaps in 586.[4] However, there exists some evidence that not all sites in Scythia were abandoned or even destroyed in the late sixth century and this has induced a number of scholars to suppose that Byzantine control was actually maintained over the province down to A.D. 680 when Theophanes refers to the peace concluded between Constantine IV and the Bulgars who settled around Varna, although the passage itself need hardly require such an interpretation.[5]

An attempt will be made to assess the archaeological evidence for the latest Byzantine occupation of the province before tentatively suggesting such historical deductions as the evidence permits. A distinction will be drawn between evidence for organized occupation where the city or fort appears to be still functioning and "sub-Byzantine" occupation where the material assemblage suggests (but does not

1. The literary sources and the chronological problems are well discussed by L. Hauptman, "Les rapports des Byzantins avec les Slaves et les Avares pendant la seconde moitié du VI[e] siècle", *Byzantion*, 3 1927-8), 137-70; P. Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au VIII[e] siècle", *RH*, 211 (1954), 265-308; I. Barnea, *Romanii la Dunărea de Jos*, II (Bucharest, 1968), 369-502.
2. Lemerle, *art.cit.*, 290.
3. Theophylact Simocatta, *Histories*, I.8.10, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1857), 54; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, AM 6079, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 257; for the problem of dating these references cf. Lemerle, *art.cit.*, 291, note 1.
4. Barnea, *op.cit.*, 433; Lemerle, *art.cit.*, 291, note 1.
5. Theophanes, AM 6171, *ibid.*, 358. For a discussion of this passage cf. Lemerle, *art.cit.*, 305. The original suggestion that Byzantine control was still exercised over Scythia Minor as late as 680 was made by N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la Roumanité orientale*, II (Bucharest, 1937), 365, 376. The argument, despite the results of recent excavation, has been revived; Barnea, *op.cit.*, 442-5; A. Petre, "Quelques données archéologiques concernant la continuité de la population et de la culture Romano-Byzantine dans la Scythie Mineure aux VI[e] et VII[e] siècles de notre ère", *Dacia*, 7 (1963), 317-53; M. Sâmpetru, "Situatia imperiului Romano-Bizantin la Dunarea de Jos la sfîrsitul secolului al VI-lea si inceptual celui de-al VII-lea", *SCIV*, 22 (1971), 217-45; C. Scorpan, "Date arheologice referitoare la sec. VI si VII pe territoriul Dobrogei", *Pontica*, 5 (1972), 349-72.

necessarily prove) the presence of Byzantine occupation, if on a drastically reduced scale with no attempt to maintain civic amenities or military fortifications and representing only sporadic reoccupation of the site.

The Danubian Limes

Excavation at Sacidava (Topalu) has identified a mid-six-century destruction level followed by a reoccupation and restoration of the defences before the fortress was again destroyed shortly after 600.[6] A further, if brief, reoccupation of the site was suggested by the excavator although it produced no dating evidence before it was followed by two sporadic phases of "sub-Byzantine" occupation, the last of which was found actually to overlie the demolished remains of the fort wall on its south side.[7] The character of the reoccupation after A.D. 600 may represent the return of a military garrison for a short period, but the final "sub-Byzantine" occupation is so ephemeral as to suggest that the site must have been completely abandoned no later than the reign of Heraclius. Axiopolis (Hinog) has provided a single gold tremissis of Heraclius (?610-13) to suggest the fort may still have been occupied into the second decade of the seventh century.[8] At Capidava (Calachioi), the fort appears to have been drastically reduced in size before the end of the sixth century.[9] Here a coin of Maurice in the final destruction level provides a *terminus post quem* for the final Byzantine occupation of the site.[10] At Beroe (Piatra Frečați), occupation of the extensive Late Roman and Byzantine cemetery adjacent to the fort has proved that the site continued to be occupied down to the third quarter of the sixth century. Most of the coins from the later burials are of Justinian and Justin II and the latest in the series is an issue of 575/6.[11] No agreement has been reached on the dating of a distinctive type of belt-buckle associated with a number of the graves and, in the absence of any later dating, it seems unlikely that

6. The latest coin from level 2 which ended with the destruction of the fort is an issue of Maurice (599/600); Scorpan, *art.cit.*, 538-63; *idem*, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Sacidava 1969-71", *Pontica*, 6 (1973), 267-321; *idem*, "Sacidava – a new Roman fortress on the map of the Danube Limes", *Actes du IX^e Congrès International d'Études sur les Frontières Romaines, 1972* (Constanța, 1974), 109-16.

7. C. Scorpan, the excavator, suggests that the final two ephemeral phases of occupation (levels 1.1 and 1.2) extended beyond ca. 614 (cf. "Sacidava – a New Roman fortress", 116). This rests upon the possible, if unproven, assumption that the reoccupation of the fort (level 1), which is undated by any coin finds, lasts as long as a decade. If some occupation on the site did continue beyond the death of Phocas it did not last very long as the levels are poorly defined and represent only the flimsiest of structures.

8. Petre, *art.cit.*, 348; Sâmpetru, *art.cit.*, 221, note 19.

9. The small "castellum" built into the southern corner of the fort has not been adequately dated although it is assumed to be of sixth-century date or even earlier: Gr. Florescu *et al.*, *Capidava* (Bucharest, 1958), 14-5, 68-72. Certainly, there is no reason to suppose that it represents a final seventh-century refortification of the site as has been argued: Sâmpetru, *art.cit.*, 221, note 19.

10. R. Florescu and N. Cheluța-Georgescu, "Săpăturile de la Capidava 1968-74", *Pontica*, 8 (1975), 77-85.

11. D. Vălceanu and A. Barnea, "Cermica lucrată cu mina din așezarea Romano-Bizantină de la Piatra Frecăței", *SCIV*, 26 (1975), 209f.

the cemetery and the fort continued to be occupied long after 600.[12] The fort may even have been abandoned in the 580s. Dinogetia (Bisericuţa/Gărvan) has been extensively excavated. The fort was destroyed ca. A.D. 560 then reoccupied, at latest, under Justin II.[13] The coin series continues down to Maurice with the latest issue of 519/2.[14] A destruction late in the sixth or early seventh century was followed by the complete abandonment of the site until the late tenth century.[15] Rescue excavation at Noviodunum (Isaccea) yielded, as latest evidence for Byzantine occupation, five stratified coins of Phocas,[16] which, despite the limited nature of the excavation, may well indicate that the fort continued to be held during the first decade of the seventh century.

The Central Dobrudja

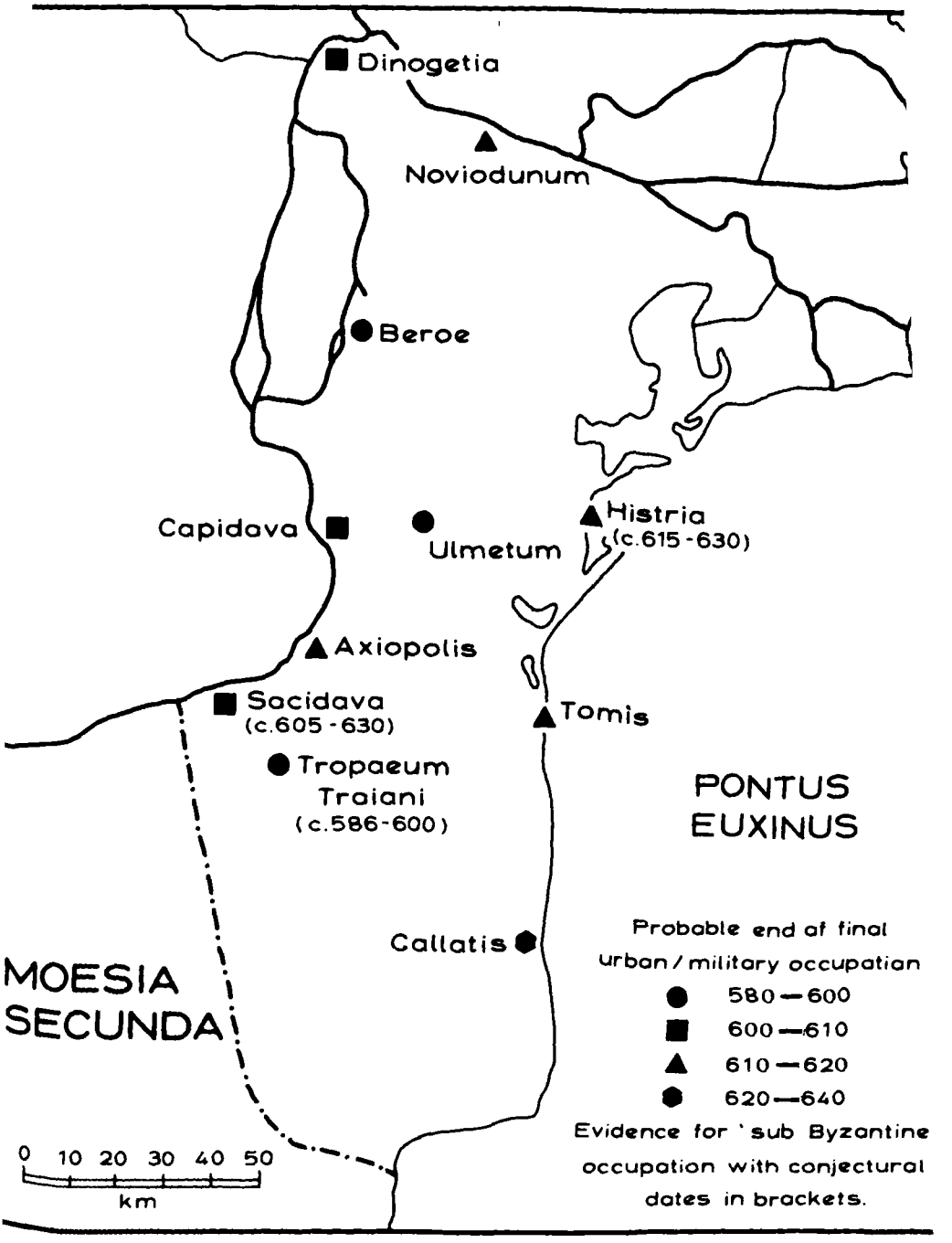
Two sites have been excavated and produced evidence for the latest period of occupation. Ulmetum (Pantelimon de Sus) appears to have suffered no less than three total destructions during the sixth century A.D.[17] In the latest phase, the entrance to the north-east tower was blocked by clay and stone walls,[18] and similar roughly built structures were built inside the large north-west tower.[19] The latest stratified coins are of Maurice with the latest example of 583/4.[20] The discovery of a single coin of Heraclius (614/5) in Pantelimon de Sus is hardly sufficient evidence to suggest that Ulmetum continued to be occupied beyond the reign of Phocas.[21] The last phase of occupation ended in destruction. At Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi), the latest urban phase characterised, as at Ulmetum, by roughly constructed stone walls bonded with clay, ended in destruction on the evidence of the coin finds from the latest "urban" level no earlier than A.D. 586.[22] Recent excava-

12. Petre, *art.cit.*, 346, dates the series of belt-buckles to the seventh century. Sampetru, *art.cit.*, 221, note 19, believes that all the examples could predate the end of the sixth century, Scorpan, "Date arheologice", 367, refuses to accept that *all* of the excavated examples *must* date to before A.D. 614!
13. I. Barnea, "L'incendie de la cité de Dinogetia au VI[e] siècle", *Dacia*, 9 (1966), 237f.
14. Gh. Stefan *et al.*, "Şantierul arheologic Garvan (Dinogetia)", *MatArh*, 7 (1961), 583; Scorpan, "Date arheologice", 366; Gh. Stefan *et al.*, *Dinogetia*, I (Bucharest, 1967), 14.
15. Cf. I. Barnea, *Dinogetia, Monumentale patriei noastre* (Bucharest, 1969), 28-35.
16. Petre, *art.cit.*, 348; Barnea, *Dinogetia*, 444.
17. V. Pârvan, "Cetatea Ulmetum 3", *AnaleleAcad.Rom.MemorileSec.Inst.*, Ser. 2, 37 (1914), 268.
18. V. Pârvan, "Cetatea Ulmetum 2", *Analele*, 36 (1913), 270-1.
19. Pârvan, *ibid.*, 279.
20. Pârvan, *ibid.*, 402; *idem*, *Analele*, 37 (1914), 281.
21. Sâmpetru, *art.cit.*, 231.
22. The suggestion by V. Pârvan, "Cetatea Tropaeum", *Buletinul Mon. Istorice* (Bucharest, 1911), 191, that the last urban phase at Tropaeum Traiani ended in destruction ca. 586

Opposite:
Fig. 23: Map of Scythia Minor, showing the evidence for final Byzantine occupation

MAP OF SCYTHIA MINOR

Showing the evidence for Final Byzantine Occupation



tion has revealed two successive, discontinuous levels of "sub-Byzantine" occupation with poorly constructed buildings of clay and stone without foundations.[23] No coins were found in these latest structures nor do they seem to have been destroyed but simply abandoned.[24] There may have been some attempt to repair the walls roughly,[25] but if, as seems probable, the city was destroyed in 586 or soon after, the subsequent ephemeral reoccupation of the site is unlikely to have survived the end of the sixth century.

The Black Sea Coast

At Callatis (Mangalia) the final phase of occupation has not been clearly identified although the three latest coin issues of Heraclius (two of 629/30 and one of 628/9) may well indicate that the city continued to be occupied into the second quarter of the seventh century.[26] In Tomis (Constanţa), excavation in the Cathedral Park unfortunately failed to find the late sixth-century levels which had been destroyed by modern building on the site,[27] so the latest reliable evidence for coin circulation remains three coins from the "mosaic building" above the modern (and probably ancient) port. Two are Heraclian issues of 613 and the other of 613/4.[28] Histria (Istria) is the most extensively investigated site in Scythia Minor and it appears to have been equipped with large public buildings and impressive, large courtyard houses during the later fifth and sixth centuries.[29] However, the extramural settlement seems to have come to an abrupt end with its latest coins of Maurice while the city appears to have been destroyed by fire early in the seventh century.[30] However, some refortification and reoccupation took place since an

has not been disproved by subsequent excavation: Scorpan, "Date arheologice", 349-50. Of the 14 coins found in Sector C the latest issues were of Justin II (571/2 and 572/3). A coin of Tiberius II (580/81) was recovered from the latest level in building A3 (d) (A. Barnea *et al., Tropaeum Traiani I, Cetatea,* Bucharest, 1979, 225) and excavation of the "cistern basilica" revealed several hastily buried skeletons outside the south wall which included decorative fragments from the destroyed church. A hoard, also from the excavation, included "23 coins of Justinian, 52 of Justin and Sophia and 2 of Tiberius II" (M. Margineau-Cărstoiu, "Problèmes d'architecture concernant la citerne Romaine et la Basilique Chrétienne de Tropaeum Traiani", *Dacia,* 21 (1977), 226-7).

23. Scorpan "Date arheologice", 350; Barnea, *Cetatea,* 39, 103, 226, 230.
24. Scorpan, *ibid.*, 357 and above note 23.
25. The suggestion that the walls of the city were roughly repaired after the destruction of the final "urban" phase (Barnea, *Cetatea,* 39) is not convincing (cf. *ibid.*, fig. 15, p.40. Trench SX, sector D).
26. D. Theodorescu, "L'édifice Romano-Byzantin de Callatis", *Dacia,* 7 (1963), 257f.; Scorpan, "Date arheologice", 367; Sâmpetru, *art.cit.*, 225.
27. Al. Rădulescu and C. Scorpan, "Rezultate preliminare ale săpăturilor arheologice din Tomis (Parcul Catedralei) 1971-74", *Pontica,* 8 (1975), 9f.
28. Sâmpetru, *art.cit.*, 222, note 19: 225; the latest good evidence for coin circulation in the city is a Heraclian issue of 629/30. Hardly admissible as evidence are coins "bought in Constanta and from different people who claimed that they had come from the area", Petre, "Quelques données", 348, note 116.
29. Cf. D.M. Pippidi, *Histria,* I (Bucharest, 1954), *passim.*
30. Three coin-hoards produced the latest dating for the destruction of the city. The first from the "Temple Sector", according to Petre, *art.cit.*, 320, note 14; Scorpan, "Date

earth rampart was erected over the extra-mural settlement which produced a coin of Phocas,[31] and two coins of Phocas over-struck by Heraclius (612/3 and 613/4) suggest that the interior of the city was still occupied.[32] One slight level has been found which follows the regular street-grid of the town and is probably to be associated with these coins. A still later phase of circular stone structures which was discovered during recent excavation does not follow the street-pattern and failed to produce any dating evidence.[33] It seems that after a destruction ca. 601/602, the city was refortified and some occupation continued into the early years of Heraclius' reign before the site was effectively abandoned, albeit that some "sub-Byzantine" occupation may have continued for a few years. Given the very slight evidence for the final phase of occupation, it would be difficult to imagine that the city was not completely abandoned by ca. 620.

It will be clear from the preceding account that the material evidence for the final phases of Scythia Minor is insufficient to provide any firm answers. Many sites which can be expected to yield important evidence for their later history have not yet been examined in sufficient detail (cf. Slava Rusa, Troesmis (Igliţa), Carsium (Hirşova)). Destruction of sites by modern building, particularly the obliteration of the latest levels, will mean that there will be little chance of recovering any clear picture of some ancient towns in their latest phase (cf. Tomis, Callatis). Of those sites which have been discussed, the results of early excavation are especially difficult to interpret (Histria, Axiopolis, Ulmetum). Nevertheless, certain general conclusions may be offered, always allowing that they may be modified in the light of later discoveries. At Sacidava, Tropaeum Traiani and Histria, the latest evidence for "sub-Byzantine" occupation produced no coins but, although such levels are notoriously difficult to date on purely stratigraphic grounds, none of them seem to represent more than a generation of partial reoccupation, perhaps representing occasional use of the site by the surviving local population. If these sites are taken as being in any way typical, it would follow that the latest coin issues from the sites in Scythia Minor at least represent the *terminus post quem* for the collapse of organized Byzantine resistance to the Avars, even if some remnants of the local population remained in the ruined cities and forts. It also seems that the cities and

arheologice", 365, contained twenty-eight coins of Justin II and Maurice, the latest issue being of 600/1. The second, from the "Economic Sector" contained twelve coins from Justin II to Maurice, the latest of which is of 587/8, Petre, *art.cit.*, 321; Scorpan, *art.cit.*, 365. The third came from the area of the public baths; seventeen coins in all of which the latest issue is a coin of Maurice (591-2), Petre, *art.cit.*, 321; Scorpan, *art.cit.*, 365. Since no coins later than Maurice can be firmly associated with level 1 inside the city and since the extra-mural area equally produced no coins later than 600 before it was abandoned, there is good reason to suppose that the hoards were hidden shortly before the destruction of the city, Pippidi, *op.cit.*, 285.

31. Pippidi, *op.cit.* 283; Petre, *art.cit.*, 325.

32. Petre, *art.cit.*, 323; H. Nubar, "Monede bizantine de la începutul secolului al VII-lea şi sfîrşitul cetăţii Histria", *SCN*, 3 (1959), 183-95; Scorpan, "Date arheologice", 365.

33. Al. Suceveanu and S. Scorpan, "Stratigrafia Histriei Romane tîrzii în lumina săpăturilor din 1969 şi 1970 în sectorul central", *Pontica*, 4 (1971), 155f.; Scorpan, "Date arheologice", 366.

forts were not all destroyed or abandoned at the same time, or even within the same decade. The two major cities of the central Dobrudja which have been excavated (Tropaeum Traiani and Ulmetum) ceased to function as urban centres (and military bases) before 600, probably in the 580s when Theophylact Simocatta includes Tropaeum in his list of sites destroyed by the Avars.[34] Beroe may also have been abandoned or destroyed by the enemy before 600, although the similar coin series from Dinogetia, Capidava and Sacidava suggests that at least three Danubian forts were destroyed by fire ca. 602. A suitable context would be the revolt of the army in that year and the proclamation of Phocas. Whether the forts were purposely destroyed by their garrisons which were required for Phocas' bid for imperial power, or whether they were subsequently overwhelmed by an opportunist attack by the Avars, will probably never be known, but the failure to reoccupy these important forts must have effectively meant the end of Byzantine efforts to maintain the Danubian limes. On the Danube, only Noviodunum has produced good evidence for Byzantine occupation as late as 610, which may well have been due to its particularly strong fortifications and its importance as a naval base as well as its proximity to the Black Sea coast.[35] Axiopolis may have been occupied as late as 610-3, but the evidence of the single Heraclian coin is not above suspicion. The cities along the coast survived somewhat later than the Danubian forts and the cities in the interior. Both Histria and Tomis struggled on into the early years of Heraclius, but only in the case of the most southerly of the three cities, Callatis, is there a suggestion that the city was still occupied as late as 630 (fig. 23).

The general impression afforded by the results of excavation for the end of Scythia Minor is one of material decline, and a progressive weakening of Byzantine control of Slav infiltration and Avar attacks destroyed first the exposed cities of the interior then the rebellion of Phocas led to the abandonment, if not the destruction, of the Danubian frontier garrisons, while the coastal cities and the remaining military bases were lost during the reign of Heraclius at a time when the very survival of Constantinople itself was in doubt. In particular, it seems most improbable that Byzantine control in Scythia Minor lasted anywhere later than Heraclius, and there is therefore no reason to believe that Constantine IV was in any better position to hand over the administration of the province to the Bulgars in 681 than Justinian was able to give Britain to the Goths over a century earlier!

34. See above, note 3.
35. Barnea, *Dinogetia*, 426.

Images of Authority: Élites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium

AVERIL CAMERON

Except among art historians, Byzantium in the later sixth century has not so far shared in the vogue which the seventh century now enjoys.[1] Yet students of Iconoclasm, arguably the major manifestation of the problem of change and continuity in early medieval Byzantium, have not failed to see that one must begin with the rise of icons before going on to the reasons for subsequent attacks upon them. And it is agreed that the first great increase in devotion to icons falls squarely in the second half of the sixth century. A number of basic studies concentrating on art and religious history, and now the subtle arguments of Peter Brown,[2] have shown beyond doubt that basic changes were taking place in Byzantine culture in these years. It ought then to be possible to focus these changes more clearly against the contemporary background. But we have to face the absence of a full and detailed social history.[3] The purpose of this paper, then, must be preliminary: to set out a framework for the late sixth century in which religious history and its expression in contemporary art are more firmly "embedded" in their context.

We have to return to the role of the court and of Constantinople. I shall argue that in these years, between the death of Justinian in 565 and the reign of Heraclius (610-41), the emperors who succeeded to a throne weakened by a sense of failure and an empire neglected by the aged Justinian made a real change in the emphasis of Byzantine rule. Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice evolved a style of governing which integrated the imperial court with contemporary taste, and which gave the Byzantine monarchy sufficient sense of identity and single-mindedness to enable it to ride out coming blows of ever-increasing magnitude. The Iconoclast emperors of

1. Debate on the "dark age" of the seventh century is lively: see *DOP*, 13 (1959) (a special volume); and more recently, J. Haldon, "Some Remarks on the Background to the Iconoclastic Controversy", *BS*, 38 (1977), 161-84; F. Winkelmann *et al.*, *Byzanz im 7 Jahrhundert* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, 48, Berlin, 1978); R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 22, Munich, 1976).

2. Principally E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Period before Iconoclasm", *DOP*, 8 (1954), 85-150; A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), 21ff.; P. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy", *EHR*, 88 (1973), 1-34.

3. Work of this kind is sadly lacking even for the reign of Justinian, but see now E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, IV^e-VII^e siècles* (Paris, 1977). G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz: Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftsstruktur", *HZ*, 224 (1977), 529-60, operates at a very high level of generality, while F. Tinnefeld, *Die frühbyzantinische Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1977), is conceived only as a modest handbook.

the eighth century were not, therefore, reimposing the imperial iron fist out of the blue.[4] A strength and unity can clearly be seen already in the reigns of the late sixth-century emperors; consequently, however close it came to the edge in the dark years of the seventh century, Constantinople did not capitulate. In the face of the Persian invasions of the early seventh century which put a sharp curb on urban life in Asia Minor,[5] and still more the onslaught of the armies of Islam which so rapidly detached Constantinople from most of its previous possessions, not much more than survival could be hoped for. The remaining provinces of the Byzantine empire survived in a changed form. But Constantinople as the centre of government pulled through the crisis too. We must now ask where the roots of that survival lay.

I shall argue that the late sixth century was crucial. It was a time when the Byzantine emperors in the capital presided over a process of cultural integration by which the élite and its rulers came to be fully identified. In this society such integration could only be expressed in religious terms. So it happened that classical culture for a time quietly took a back seat. Still practised by the élite of Justinian's day, it had even then been dangerously associated with paganism. Such a luxury could no longer be permitted. Imperial historians and poets who had previously striven to keep up "classical" styles of writing now presented their subjects unblushingly within the terms of Old Testament typology; when classical culture came back into fashion, after the years of struggle, it was less a real alternative than a scholarly revival. The sixth-century emperors lent their active patronage to religious developments already under way: they were quick to ally icons with imperial ceremony, and to foster the emergence of the Virgin as the protectress of Constantinople by making her their own protectress too. Their own ceremonial increased in impact and complexity, and set the imperial players in a scenario ever more religious in tone.[6] By means of his ceremonial, with its fixed calendar of progresses through the city, now probably for the first time being regularized, the emperor took possession of his city, and the urban religious symbols which he now promoted reinforced his position at its head. It is the most natural thing of all that precisely during these years that most agonistic feature of Justinianic society – the circus factions – was drawn securely into imperial ceremonial, even imperial ceremonial at its most fully religious.

The seventh-century invasions did not, it is clear, suddenly cut off a society unchanged since the Late Roman period.[7] Profound changes were taking place already in the provinces, where the internal organization of towns was being transformed,

4. Brown, *art.cit.*, 23ff., makes the events of the late seventh century the trigger for imperial reaction.
5. See C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity", *EHR*, 90 (1975), 721-47; *idem*, "The Fall of Sardis in 616 and the Value of Evidence", *JÖB*, 24 (1975), 11-22; *idem*, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia", *AJA*, 81 (1977), 469-86.
6. Since this paper was written, G. Dagron's important article, "Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine", *DOP*, 31 (1977), 3-25, has reinforced this impression.
7. As implied by Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity".

and where it was becoming increasingly more difficult for the government to maintain the Late Roman administrative and military apparatus.[8] As for Constantinople, a moment in the city's history epitomizes the changed situation, while demonstrating the sense of integration now achieved. It has a flavour which one could not imagine transposed to the reign of Justinian. On 7 August 626 the people of Constantinople finally fought off the invading Avars after a truly desperate siege. In the waters of the Golden Horn, in front of her own great church at Blachernai, the Virgin herself appeared to the people, brandishing her sword, encouraging the combatants and inspiring them to redden the waters of the imperial city with the blood of Avars and Slavs.[9] She fought as a warrior-maiden, a reminder of Athena Promachos, whose statue stood in the city,[10] and laid low the enemy, women among them.[11] The khagan of the Avars saw with his own eyes a veiled lady walking the ramparts;[12] and the Virgin's icons, deployed in procession by the Patriarch Sergius, acting for the absent Emperor Heraclius, stimulated the faith and gratitude of the entire population. We shall return to this siege. For now, it is enough to say that it marked, one of the most complete moments of unity ever realized in Constantinople. Even though Heraclius was away from his city campaigning in Persia, he was constantly present in the minds of his people, and represented to them by the patriarch. Thus the siege and its triumphant conclusion became a demonstration of the intimate connection of the emperor, patriarch and people, all under the protection of the warrior-Virgin. In the words of the new preface to the Akathistos hymn, the population gave thanks to her.

> I, your city, commemorate the victory festival as a thank-offering to you, Mother of God, our victorious general, for my cleansing from danger. And

8. Emperors being out of fashion, the capital has tended to be overlooked in recent discussion, though earlier studies gave it more attention: see A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 163ff.; Kitzinger, *art.cit.*, 127ff.
9. The best discussion of the difficult sources for this siege is F. Barišić, "Le siège de Constantinople par les Avares et les Slaves en 626", *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 371-95; see also A. Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", *RHR*, 127 (1944), 61-127.
10. R. Jenkins, "The Bronze Athena at Byzantium", *JHS*, 67 (1947), 31-3.
11. See *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, ed. A. Mai (Rome, 1844-54), VI.ii, 433. The Greek text here edited by Angelo Mai (hereafter Anon. Mai) is a homily on the siege, preserved without the author's name, but very probably written by one Theodore, a *synkellos* of St Sophia, and delivered on 7 August 627; it was also edited by L. Sternbach, *Analecta Avarica* (Cracow, 1900), 2-24, now reprinted with French translation and commentary by F. Makk, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homelie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626* (Acta Universitatis de Attila József nominatae, Acta antiqua et archaeologica, 19, Opuscula byzantina, 3, Szeged, 1975); the latter has not yet been accessible to me and I cite the text by reference to the most readily available edition, namely that of Mai. For the date and authorship, see Barišić, *art.cit.*, 373-4.
12. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), I.725; John Skylitzes, in George Kedrenos, *Compendium historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838-9), I, 728. For further apparitions of the Virgin in the sixth century as a veiled lady, see H. Chadwick, "John Moschus and his Friend Sophronius the Sophist", *JThS*, n.s., 25 (1974), 65-6.

> you, who have might against which no fight avails, release me from every kind of danger, that I may cry to thee "Hail, unmarried bride".[13]

It was a moment of city unity, and the Virgin at this moment fulfilled the function of a city deity. But the city was an imperial city, and the myth-making which at once surrounded this siege also arose from the sense of divine protection for the whole empire. It was this very closeness of identification of the emperors with their imperial city and its divine protectors which more than anything else enabled them to survive in the hard times to come. As the provinces one by one fell away, they were able to retrench and draw strength from their secure position in the capital. To understand how this strength was achieved we must consider in turn a series of different developments in the late sixth century.

I
CEREMONIAL

Although emperors had long developed their own imperial ceremonial and participated in liturgical ceremonies,[14] we can now see a significant growth in the scale and purposiveness of such activities. Most of the protocols laid down in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos cannot be assigned a date of origin, since they are recorded outside a historical context, as timeless prescriptions for future occasions.[15] Nevertheless certain definite signs do point to the late sixth century as a time when the imperial ceremonial was taking shape as a regular pattern of occasions and movements spread over the year and ranging over the urban space of Constantinople; now, too, it became increasingly merged with the religious life of the city, so that even if outwardly an individual

13. Akathistos hymn, proem II; see E. Wellesz, "The Akathistos", *DOP*, 9-10 (1955-6), 143ff.; C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (WByzSt, 5, Vienna, 1968), 17ff.; J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris, 1977), 34. Peter Brown has recently emphasized the importance of such consensus in a Late Antique city: P. Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours* (The Stenton Lecture, 1976, University of Reading, 1977), 19ff.

14. For a dynamic treatment of a particular ceremony, see S. MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of *Adventus*", *Historia*, 21 (1972), 721-52, and further in her *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (forthcoming). The crystallization of the fixed ceremonial as known in the tenth century was very slow, but the emperors were participating in regular imperial and liturgical processions by the fifth century: see Marcellinus Comes, (MGH Chronica Minora, 2, *AA*, 11, Berlin, 1894), *sub annis* 431, 472 and 512; see also R. Janin, "Les processions religieuses de Byzance", *REB*, 24 (1966), 69-88. The concept of a "Catholic grid" structuring the life of Gallic towns in the late sixth century (Brown, *op.cit.*, 9) may be helpful also for Constantinople, where the grid was by now both imperial and ecclesiastical.

15. Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis*, ed. J.J. Reiske, (Bonn, 1829-30). Exceptions to this generalization are the descriptions of the entries of Justinian in 559 (*ibid.*, I, 497), Basil I in 879 (*ibid.*, I, 398-9) and Theophilus in 831 (*ibid.*, I, 503-4, see also 627ff.). The most useful (though too static) discussion of Byzantine ceremonial is still O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser-und Reichsidee vom oströmischen Staats-und Reichsgedanken*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1956).

ceremonial action seemed to have no religious connotations, it would in fact be invested with a totally religious interpretation.

Evidence for imperial ceremony as such in Justinian's reign is slight. Yet there are pointers all the same. We would expect *a priori* that a brilliant, long and self-conscious reign such as this would tend towards an increase in imperial display and probably ceremony too. Indeed one of the sources used by Constantine Porphyrogennetos was a treatise on ceremony by one of Justinian's top ministers – Peter the Patrician, who as Master of Offices had to direct and take part in these ceremonies himself.[16] Manuals on kingship from the period also suggest an interest in the theory and style of monarchy.[17] Justinian had no great public inauguration ceremony to evoke panegyric or encourage the formation of a more elaborate ritual.[18] But when much of the centre of Constantinople was burned down in the Nika riot of 532 he was effectively enabled to lay out and build afresh the whole area linking the palace and St Sophia, and opening out into the main thoroughfare leading to the Forum of Constantine. Thus he remade the ceremonial core of the city almost from scratch; from then on, this complex of imperial and religious building would be the setting for the beginning and ending of all great city occasions. It was only the finishing touch – though a vitally important one – when Justinian's successor enhanced the possibility of uniting imperial and religious ceremonial by supporting the building of a new patriarchate in the same central area.[19]

16. See J.B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenitus", *EHR*, 22 (1907), 209-27, 417-39; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, (Paris, 1949-59), II, 723-9; A. Pertusi, "I principi fondamentali della concezione di potere a Bizanzio. Per un commento al dialogo 'Sulla scienze politica' attributo a Pietro Patrizio (secolo VI)", *BISI*, 80 (1968), 1ff. Peter's use of the phrase "as is customary" (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis*, I, 397, and see 417, 629, 630) shows that a formalized procedure was already in existence.
17. See P. Henry, "A Mirror for Justinian: The *Ekthesis* of Agapetus Diaconus", *GRBS*, 8 (1967), 281-308. There is also an anonymous *Peri politikes epistemes*, of which a new fragment has recently been discovered: C. Behr, "A New Fragment of Cicero's *De Republica*", *AJPh*, 95 (1974), 141-9. Another, possibly different, text is mentioned by Photios: see *ibid.*, 144: F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background* (DOS, 9, Washington, 1966), II, 706-7. The anonymous sixth-century *Peri strategikes* (in *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller*, ed. H. Köchly and W. Rustow, Leipzig, 1853-5, II.ii, 54) cites as one of the components of Byzantine society the "theatrical" element, employed at the staging of imperial occasions: see Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1976), 80-1. Procopius' famous critique of the court etiquette imposed by the Empress Theodora is yet another indication of this growing imperial self-consciousness: Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, xxx.21, ed. J. Haury, rev. G. Wirth, *Opera Omnia* (Leipzig, 162-4), III, 184-5.
18. Justinian was elevated during the lifetime of Justin I and would have been crowned by him inside the palace, whereas inaugurations of "new" emperors took place in public in the Hippodrome: see Janet Nelson's perceptive analysis of early Byzantine inauguration ceremonies, "Symbols in Context", *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 98-9.
19. John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II.34, ed. E.W. Brooks (CSCO, Scriptores Syri, ser. 3, pt. 3, Louvain, 1936), 72-3 (built by the patriarch John Scholasticus, surely with imperial support). See R. Cormack and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul: The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp", *DOP*, 31 (1977), 200ff., bringing out the central importance of this building complex.

When Vandal Africa fell so spectacularly (and unexpectedly) to Belisarius, Justinian staged a celebration in the form of an archaizing revival of the old Roman triumph.[20] Not-so-subtle differences emphasized the fact that six hundred years had passed since the last triumph was held,[21] yet even so, the general effect would be to stress the sense of the Roman past. But by 559, when another victory won by Belisarius was to be commemorated, Justinian had given up the Roman pomp for a more typically late antique *adventus* – a formal entry into the city in which he himself rode on horseback and stopped at a church to give thanks to God and pray for the soul of the now-dead Empress Theodora.[22] The most military of imperial ceremonies now incorporates religious ritual. Small hints show that a regular pattern of imperial behaviour now existed, interwoven with the religious calendar. It was a mark of deep respect on Justinian's part when he left off his crown on Christmas Day after a serious earthquake, and went further by cancelling a now customary imperial feast in the Chamber of the Nineteen Beds in the palace.[23] The poem which Paul the Silentiary (one of the educated, if not perhaps quite the governing, élite)[24] composed in 563 to celebrate the rededication of St Sophia, heavily damaged by earthquake in 557, owes little to classical tradition, and sees the emperor's position in terms of his relationship with the patriarch.[25] Justinian himself was willing on some formal occasions to walk on foot while the patriarch rode in the imperial carriage.[26] Similarly telling is his interest in the increasingly elaborate liturgy;[27] he often endowed his new churches with an income substantial enough to

20. Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum*, II.9, *op.cit.*, I, 455-8. Procopius himself comments on the deliberateness and artificiality of the Roman revival. See J. Deér, "Der Ursprung der Kaiserkrone", *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte*, 8 (1950), 51ff.

21. The culmination of this triumph was not the arrival of the triumphing general on the Capitol but his prostration before Justinian in the Hippodrome: Procopius, *loc.cit.*; in a sense the triumph was the emperor's, and Justinian, therefore, wore the jewelled triumphal cloak: John Lydus, *De magistratibus*, II.2, ed. R. Wuensch (Leipzig, 1903), 55-6.

22. Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis*, Appendix ad librum primum, *op.cit.*, I, 497-8, on which see Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 818-9. The so-called *mnema* (memorial) at which Justinian lit candles is surely a tomb, and thus the tomb of Theodora, who died in 548 (Stein, *op.cit.*, II, 589), since it is called "the memorial of our sovereign lady".

23. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, (Leipzig, 1883-5), I, 232.

24. For these palace officials and "professional" men (lawyers, grammarians and the like), see G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963), 67ff.; P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London, 1971), 180ff.

25. See esp. Paul the Silentiary, *Descriptio S. Sophiae*, 1-134, 921-1029, ed. P. Friedländer (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), 217-31, 253-6. There had been a serious plot against the emperor in 562 (Theophanes, *op.cit.*, I, 237), and this official poem, recited on a solemn public occasion, was clearly meant to reinforce imperial prestige. The emperor and the patriarch led the rededication ceremony together: *ibid.*, I, 238.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 228.

27. See Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis", 22; E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961), 138. T.F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971), explores the connexion between church-building and liturgical development.

provide the personnel, sometimes running into hundreds, to conduct complex services.[28] The liturgical hymn known as the *kontakion,* best known to us in association with the name of Romanos, now attained its peak; not only was its performance during the liturgy itself a complex ritual, which belongs with the contemporary elaboration of church services, but it was even used at times as a vehicle for imperial ideology,[29] which thus gained the setting of a church. It was hardly to be wondered at if imperial ceremony itself followed the example of the increasingly complex liturgy; the mechanisms of the church were, after all, stronger and more impressive instruments of public communication than classical rhetoric.

The direct evidence for Justinian is admittedly slight. But perhaps the clearest proof that a change took place in his reign is the ceremonial surrounding the inauguration of his successor in 565, as described in the panegyric by the contemporary poet Corippus.[30] The poem itself suggests a transition; notwithstanding obvious debts to earlier Latin panegyric, Corippus' novel focus on the here-and-now of the actual ceremonies, for instance the funeral of Justinian, brings us forcibly into the atmosphere of the deposition of a relic or of the contemporary mourning scenes in the Vienna Genesis.[31] The dead Justinian, covered, it is true, with a funeral pall embroidered with the triumphal scenes of his prime, has nevertheless attained the status of a holy person.[32]

This panegyric is in fact a prime text. It demonstrates unmistakably the transition I am trying to suggest, manifested in the most sensitive ritual of Byzantine imperial life, the accession of a new emperor. Indeed, it is, perhaps for good reason, the only

28. For example, Procopius, *Aedificia,* V.6.1, *op.cit.,* IV, 162 (the Nea church in Jerusalem), and II.10.24, *op.cit.,* IV, 80 (the Church of the Virgin at Antioch). See too Justinian, *Novel* 3 (535), ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll, *Corpus iuris civilis,* 6th ed., (Berlin, 1954), III, *Novellae,* 18-24; P.J. Pargoire, *L'église byzantine de 527 à 847* (Paris, 1905), 115ff.

29. See E. Catafygiotu-Topping, "Romanos, On the Entry into Jerusalem: a Basilikos Logos", *Byzantion,* 47 (1977), 65-91, pointing out the connexion between the themes of the liturgical *kontakion* and those of imperial panegyric – here that of the royal *adventus* and acclamation; see also *idem,* "On Earthquakes and Fires", *BZ,* 71 (1978), 22-35. For Romanos and the *kontakion,* the work of J. Grosdidier de Matons is basic: Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode,* and see also K. Mitsakis, *Byzantine Hymnographia* (Thessalonike, 1971), I, 171-353.

30. Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* ed. Averil Cameron (London, 1976).

31. For the relation of deposition ritual and *adventus,* see MacCormack, *art.cit.,* 747ff. For tears and mourning, see Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* III.41ff, *op.cit.,* 62 and commentary, 180-1; E. Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage of Byzantine Art", *DOP,* 17 (1963), 111; H. Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art", *DOP,* 31 (1977), 125-74.

32. On the funeral pall, see Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* I.276ff, *op.cit.,* 44. As inauguration procedure now develops into fixed ritual, so too imperial and patriarchal funerals acquire a set form. See, for example, the funerals of Eudocia, first wife of Heraclius (Nikephoros, *Breviarium,* ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1880, 7) and of the patriarchs Eutychius in 582 (Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii,* xcvii-xcviii, P.G., 86, col. 2384) and Sergius in 638 (Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis,* II.30, *op.cit.,* I, 630).

such detailed description of a complete accession ritual in the sixth century.[33] Justin II was the last emperor in our period to be both raised on a shield and crowned by the patriarch with the diadem in one and the same ceremony. After him, shield-raising, with other "Roman" survivals, seems effectively to have lapsed.[34] With Justin II the ritual is poised on the brink of its fully Byzantine form, for he is crowned in the palace, not in a church, whereas after him the ceremony was soon transferred to St Sophia, its location throughout the rest of Byzantine history. Thus we are allowed for once to see a Byzantine ceremony at a point of change. We must not fail to recognize how far things had already gone.

Why, we may ask, does Corippus write precisely this kind of panegyric, one which departs from the conventional rhetoric of a Claudian or a Sidonius and devotes itself to the minute and realistic description of actual ceremonies? It is not enough to say that he is an inferior poet.[35] His careful account marks a new departure; he not only describes, but also explains the meaning of every piece of ceremonial, and usually the meanings he gives are Christian ones, even for the archaic survivals. Nor is it enough to explain Corippus' detailed approach to ceremony as such; we should ask *why* he devotes so much attention to these specific rituals. Why is it that precisely during the sixth century Byzantine inauguration ritual develops from an unpredictable elective technique to a highly sophisticated and fully religious ritual performed by the patriarch and located in the major imperial church?[36] We shall see later that the late sixth-century emperors used the popularity of the cult of icons and the growth of emphasis on the Virgin to help them to assert their own position. A tightened and intensified inauguration ritual emphasizing the emperor's divine election would work for them in the same direction. The secular elements still present till now will soon drop away, to leave room for an identification of the imperial coronation as a fully religious rite.

The inauguration of Justin II marks the exact turning-point. The secular elements are still there, but each is given a religious interpretation in the panegyric. Raised on the military shield, the emperor nevertheless is said to "rise" like Christ, and the

33. See Nelson, *art.cit.*, 98ff. In this particular case there were political reasons which made it seem desirable to reinforce Justin's position with as complete a crowning ceremony as possible (see Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris*, 156-7); for similar reasons it was minutely described by the panegyrist, who thus provided us with a unique record.

34. See Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris*, 160-1, note on II.136; Nelson, *art.cit.*, 100ff.; C. Walter, "Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography", *REB*, 33 (1975), 133ff.; D.M. Nicol, *"Kaiseralbung:* The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual", *BMGS*, 2 (1976), 37ff.

35. C. Witke, *Numen Litterarum* (Leiden and Cologne, 1971), is unusual in recognizing the originality of Corippus' approach.

36. Nelson, *art.cit.*, gives the most analytic and least dogmatic account; the standard full treatment (though much too schematized) is E. Christophilopoulos, *Ekloge, anagoreusis kai stepsis tou byzantinou autokratoros* (Athens, 1956). The sixth-century ceremony presents, and Corippus duly emphasizes, all four elements (recognition, investiture, installation and acclamation) isolated by M. Fortes, "Of Installation Ceremonies", *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1967* (London, 1968), 11.

same analogy is implied even when he is raised as consul in the curule chair.[37] The whole inauguration symbolizes for the poet the emperor's role as the *imago Christi;*[38] it is a true *rite de passage,* after which the emperor emerges in his new role as God's representative, a role in which he will in later times on occasion ceremonially enact the part of Christ. Justin's coronation speech grotesquely but no doubt effectively reinforces the sense of a descending order of authority: God has put the emperor on his throne as the head of the state, the senators are its chest, the people its arms and legs.[39] The ideas have seldom before found such a forceful expression, or conveyed such a strong impression of total social and religious unity. Over and over again throughout the panegyric there is the same insistence, in different ways, on the line of authority and protection, with the emperor as the mediator of both between God and his people. Unity and hierarchy are the twin messages of the poem, and the emperor is the focus of both.

Certainly we must admit a high degree of manipulation in the accession of Justin and a consequent advantage to the regime in stressing idea such as these. Corippus was an official poet, and even the very ceremony he describes was provably stage-managed to forestall opposition.[40] A major effort had been made: when the new emperor appeared in the Hippodrome he was acclaimed not by the army, as had been customary earlier in the century, but by the very Blues and Greens against whom he had only recently himself led imperial troops.[41] This is very surprising, as formerly they had been mainly conspicuous as rioters and urban gangsters.[42] Yet in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* they are the recognized leaders of imperial ceremonial. Now Justin II's inauguration allows us to see that this transformation had begun as early as 565. It will not have been achieved without considerable imperial effort and doubtless expenditure. Both of these were necessary also for Justin's much advertised revival of the consulship, which followed very shortly on his coronation. There were political advantages for Justin in assuming the consul-

37. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* II, 148ff. *op.cit.,* 52; IV, 99ff., *op.cit.,* 76; 250ff., *op.cit.,* 80; see E. Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti: lever du roi", *DOP,* 17 (1965), 152-3.

38. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* II, 420ff., *op.cit.,* 60. The imperial imitation of Christ is also one of the main themes of Agapetus' *Ekthesis;* see Henry, *art.cit.*

39. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris.* II, 178-274, *op.cit.,* 53-6. See E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), 185ff.; for the Christian overtones, see I Corinthians, XII. 12ff. As the tightened inauguration ritual draws stricter boundaries, so the head and body symbolism, appearing in the same context, stands for a drawing together of all sections of society.

40. See note 33 above. The panegyric was commissioned by the quaestor Anastasius (for other important patrons, see Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* I, 18ff., and IV, 368ff, *op.cit.,* 37, 84), one of Justin II's two closest advisers; the other was the Patriarch John Scholasticus, the man who crowned him.

41. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* II, 310ff., *op.cit.,* 57; for Justin's own role in dealing with recent faction rioting, see John Malalas, *Chronographia,* ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 491.

42. These activities of the Blues and Greens and the "transformation" are fully discussed in Cameron, *Circus Factions.* Patlagean, *op.cit.,* 203ff., sets the urban violence of the factions persuasively in the social context of the sixth-century city.

ship, defunct for a generation, since it enabled him to win the favour of the urban population by literally scattering gold to them as his processions passed, and that of the upper classes by distributing gifts of silver and gold. He might advertise it, too, by promising the return of an age of justice.[43] But it had as much to offer on the symbolic level, with its inauguration ceremony, its association with the opening of a new year (consuls entered office on 1st January) and its regular processions through the city.[44] Almost as much as an imperial inauguration, the taking of the consulship was both a *rite de passage* and a symbol of hierarchy; henceforth, with the consulship limited to reigning emperors, the associations would be combined in one.

So by 565 there was a recognition of the need for change. All the same this was an early stage in the process. Corippus may have abandoned the rhetoric of late Latin poetry (of which his other major poem shows him to have been capable)[45] for the plainer description of Byzantine protocol, but he is not yet willing to come right out into the open with Christian symbolism, preferring to work indirectly through allusions and images. Corippus will not yet present Justin II as David, or place him in the long span of Christian history, as we shall find Heraclius soon being treated by contemporary writers. A hankering after the classical remains.

When we come to consider how far things had developed by the end of the century, it will be clear that much of the evidence for the further development of imperial ceremonial in this period in fact centres round the Blues and Greens of whom we have already spoken. The study of Corippus' panegyric and recent work on the factions have together shown that the "ceremonial role" of the factions had come into being well before Heraclius.[46] There are no Blues or Greens at the entry of Justinian in 559, nor in the parts of the *Book of Ceremonies* drawn from Justinian's minister, Peter the Patrician. But they are there at Justin II's inauguration, at the marriage of Maurice in 582 and the crowning of Leontia in 602. When Heraclius went to meet the khagan of the Avars at Heraclea in 619 he took Blues and Greens with him, to impress the khagan with imperial ceremony.[47] By 602

43. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris*, III, 333-56, *op.cit.*, 71; see *Anthologia Planudea*, 72 (an inscription for a statue of Justin II in consular dress), on which see Averil and Alan Cameron, "*Anth. Plan.* 72: A Propaganda Poem from the Reign of Justin II", *University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin*, 13 (1966), 101ff.

44. The ivory diptychs commemorating a consul's year of office are the best guide to sixth-century expectations; see R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, (Berlin, 1929). Apart from the consul's obligation to provide largesse, and his ceremonial elevation, his chief role was that of presiding officer at the games, thus appearing at the head of the city's major secular public occasion (and that at which Blue/Green conflicts most often broke out, where there was consequently most urgent need of imperial control).

45. The *Iohannis*, a more conventional epic treatment of the African campaigns of Justinian's general John Troglita: Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *Iohannidos, libri VIII*, ed. J. Diggle and F.R.D. Goodyear (Cambridge, 1970).

46. See esp. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 249ff.

47. All this evidence is discussed in *ibid.* For the ceremonial aspect of the attendance of the Blues and Greens on Heraclius, see also Nelson, *art.cit.*, 101-2; but they are not there as a

there were certainly already Blue and Green "stations" along imperial processional routes, made possible by a growing hierarchy of faction officials now attested for the first time, and the dispute which broke out on the occasion of the crowning of Leontia in that year was precisely about the respective ceremonial rights of the Blues and Greens.[48]

It would be premature to assume that the factions were thus easily neutralized, for they remained a potentially powerful factor in politics, and made their influence felt on a number of occasions during the reign of Phocas (602-10) for instance.[49] In the months leading up to the tyrant's overthrow Blues and Greens took the lead on both sides in what was virtually civil war in many of the leading cities of the empire.[50] As long as they remained as organized, and indeed often armed, groups in urban situations, both in Constantinople and elsewhere, they would inevitably be the first to be involved in civil disturbance, and thus it was that the events leading up to the fall of Phocas, which in no sense amounted to a social revolution, nevertheless gave the Blues and Greens an opening for political action which they had not had for decades.[51] But none of this contradicts the fact that references to Blues and Greens in late sixth-century sources prove clearly both the growth of imperial ceremony and the organized participation in it of the factions.

Scholars have tended to see this participation in ceremonial (which they mostly attribute to the reign of Heraclius)[52] as a "drawing of the teeth" of the factions by assigning them a "merely ceremonial" role. On the contrary we must view this utilization of the Blues and Greens in imperial ceremony as a very positive effort towards social integration. The "young men" frequently mentioned in contemporary accounts of faction activity were clearly a marginal group, and their lack of position or purpose in society as a whole made their existence in an organized form a constant and real danger.[53] It was not, then, that their role became "merely cere-

"city militia", as has been commonly thought: see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 257. Patlagean, *op.cit.*, 205, gives a helpful summary of past attempts to explain the Blues and Greens by reference to consistent social or religious affiliations, now mostly exploded by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, pt. 1.

48. Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae*, VIII.10.10ff., ed. C. de Boor, rev. P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972), 304-6.

49. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 1, 292, 294, 296. Phocas ordered that the troublesome Greens should no longer *politeuesthai;* for the translation and interpretation of this word, see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 288-9.

50. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 282. It seems perverse to deny that they were deeply involved in politics at this time.

51. Apart from an incident at the proclamation of Tiberius II – see Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, V.30, eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison, 2nd ed. (MGH, *ScriptRerMerov*, I.i, Hanover, 1951), 235 – they seem to have been quiet since the accession of Justin II.

52. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 297-8.

53. On the "young men", see *ibid.*, 75ff.; Patlagean, *op.cit.*, 228. The Blues and Greens were surely more than mere sporting associations, as they are firmly presented by Cameron; the factional violence of the Justinianic era indicates both a general lack of social control and their own lack of position: see Patlagean, *ibid.*, 223ff. But as yet we know too little about who the Blues and Greens actually were. For suggestive comparisons, see G. Duby, "Les

monial"; rather, if they could be induced to participate in imperial occasions in an officially recognized capacity this would be both a public affirmation of unity in the state and a way of bringing them into the social order.

II
THE EMPEROR AND HIS SETTING

We are already familiar with the idea of the reign of Justin II as marking something of a turning-point in imperial ideology.[54] But what can we make of such modern descriptions as "liturgification" and "new piety"? For the Byzantine emperor had always been seen in a religious context. "God gave you to us. God will preserve you. You are ever-victorious, for you honour Christ" ran acclamations of army and people in the fifth century.[55] But now the emperor is seen more consistently as the slave of God, less often as the heir of Augustus. When the demented Justin II hands over power to Tiberius, his words, faithfully reproduced by a contemporary struck by the pathos of the scene, breathe a new tone: "see the wretched Justin stripped and fallen from his kingdom".[56] The reign of Heraclius certainly shows the change. The emperor who claimed his throne in a heroic crusade assisted by the Virgin went on to fight a holy war and restore the True Cross to Jerusalem. In his reign occurred the greatest symbolic event experienced by the capital during this period – the Avar siege of 626, with its proof of the city's protection by the Virgin – and when Heraclius made his triumphal return from Persia in 628 he was greeted by people and patriarch not with a Roman triumph but with hymns of praise to God.[57] In 629 he set the seal on this change of direction by giving up the

'jeunes' dans la société aristocratique", *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilizations*, 19 (1964), 835-46; N.Z. Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion", *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Mediaeval and Renaissance Religion*, eds. C. Trinkaus and H. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), 327.

54. Thus Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser-und Reichsidee*, 27-8; Averil Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II", *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), 65-6; Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Period before Iconoclasm", 126ff.; I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord", *ArtB*, 44 (1962), 23; J.D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), 54-5; Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 163ff. In part this impression depends on stylistic judgements about imperial and religious art in this period, which I have largely tried to avoid in this paper. But I have suggested elsewhere, first, that by the reign of Justin II at least, it is a mistake to see too much separation between the terms "imperial" and "religious": see Averil Cameron, "Corippus's Poem on Justin II: A Terminus of Late Antique Art", *AnnPisa*, 3rd ser., 5 (1975), 15ff.; and secondly, that the literary sources deserve more attention than they usually receive in comparison with the few extant works, even when the art works they mention have not survived, *idem*, "The Artistic Patronage of Justin II", *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 62-84.

55. Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis*, I.91, *op.cit.*, I, 411.

56. John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III.5, ed. Brooks, *op.cit.*, 93. Justin believed that the words of abdication were being dictated to him by an angel; see Averil Cameron, "An Emperor's Abdication", *BS*, 37 (1976), 161-7.

57. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, 328. Theophanes elevates the emperor's return to the sphere of sacred history by recalling the six days of the Creation.

traditional imperial titulature which went back to the days of Augustus and officially adopting instead the Greek term *basileus* (emperor) – but not *basileus* alone: henceforth the emperor was to be known as the "believing" emperor (*pistos en Christo basileus*).[58] Texts of the same period refer often to the "Christ-loving" emperor;[59] and while earlier emperors also had been the pious servants of God, as Justinian was shown at Ravenna,[60] it was only now that they were willing to give up six hundred years of imperial tradition. Certainly the climate was changing with Justin II, who inserted the title of Christ as King of Kings into the liturgy[61] and made explicit in his own building programme the twin conceptions of the emperor as the image of Christ and Christ as the *rex regnantium.* Corippus represents Justin's accession as having been foreshadowed in a dream investiture by the Virgin, and Justin's words echoed the same theme: "God gave me the kingdom and God has taken it away".[62] The self-abasement in his speech of abdication would have been unthinkable for Justinian.

Justin, too, provided the new setting for this change of direction. Above all, he initiated the building of a new throne-room in the imperial palace, the so-called *Chrysotriklinos,* or Golden Chamber, henceforth a chief location for imperial ceremonial.[63] Above the emperor's throne was the image of Christ; thus spectators could see the emperor seated on his throne as a living embodiment on earth of Christ in heaven, the true *imago Christi.*[64] Later on, the throne of the emperor came to carry the associations of the throne of Christ; on certain holy days such precious religious tokens as the Image of Edessa, the True Cross, the Gospel book were solemnly placed upon it.[65] If some of the building and decoration of the *Chrysotriklinos* was actually completed by Justin's successor, Tiberius II, as is possible, that does not much matter, for the design and decoration were surely conceived as a whole. What is important is that during these crucial years of develop-

58. I. Shahid, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius", *DOP,* 26 (1972), 295, 317-20, stressing the religious implications as against earlier scholars who had seen the change as relating to the defeat of Persia (Bréhier, Bury) or as a final recognition of Greek as the language of the state (Ostrogorsky). See now too G. Rosch, *Onoma basileias: Studien zum offizielen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in spätantike und frühbyzantinischer Zeit* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 10, Vienna, 1978), 70.

59. For example, see the anonymous homily on the deposition of the Virgin's robe at Blachernai (early seventh century) edited with Russian translation by C. Loparev, "Staroe svidetel'stvo o Polozhenii rizy Bogoroditsy vo Vlachernakh v novom istolkovanii primenital'no k nashestvii Russkikh na Vizantii v 860 godu", *Viz Vrem,* 2 (1895), 581-628, at 593. For this text (hereafter Loparev) and its authorship, see notes 76 and 84 below.

60. See E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 81ff.

61. George Kedrenos, *op.cit.,* 1, 685; Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II,* 54.

62. John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica,* III.5, *op.cit.,* 93; Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae,* III,11, op.cit., 132-3,

63. See Lavin, *art.cit.,* esp. 22-3; Breckenridge, *op.cit.,* 54-5. I must thank Robin Cormack for discussing this with me.

64. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* II.425ff., *op.cit.,* 60.

65. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin,* 34.

ment, imperial ceremony received a new physical setting whose whole conception and decor expressed the idea of the emperor in his throne-room as a microcosm of God in heaven. The room itself was modelled not on previous palace architecture, but on ecclesiastical; its closest architectural parallels are churches and its pictorial decoration consisted of scenes from the life of Christ.[66]

The emperors knew how to exploit the visual image. The central object in the *Chrysotriklinos* was inevitably the imperial throne, probably just such a lyre-backed throne as we see in the sixth-century iconography of the enthroned Virgin.[67] So too, Justin's own coins heavily emphasize this quasi-religious theme of the enthroned emperor, indeed the enthroned emperor and empress, and Corippus devotes a long and weighty section in his panegyric to the religious symbolism of the imperial throne.[68] On the famous cross which Justin and Sophia sent to Rome, busts of the emperor and empress were juxtaposed with the Lamb of God.[69] The message is always the same – to drive home the understanding of the emperor's special relationship with God, which gives him his earthly rule and which cannot be set aside.

III
ICONS AND MYTH-MAKING

If, then, these emperors were prepared to provide a new physical setting for their enhanced ceremonies, they were equally ready to enlist supernatural protectors. The Mother of God was the best of all; thus Justin II altered and refurbished the metropolitan churches of the Virgin of Blachernai and Chalkoprateia, and provided new housings for the city's relics, her robe and girdle.[70] Leo I and his family in the fifth century had had themselves depicted in mosaic round an enthroned Virgin in the apse of the chapel of the Virgin's robe at Blachernai, and Justinian and Theodora were shown with her on embroidered curtains in St Sophia. But the late sixth-century emperors above all sponsored her cult in the city.[71] The Empress

66. See C. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 128. For the post-Iconoclastic decoration of the *Chrysotriklinos*, see *Anth. Pal.*, I, 106 (given in Mango, *op.cit.*, 184). Architecturally the throne-room belongs with centralized churches and has been described, though an imperial building, as of "critical importance for the future of religious art": Lavin, *op.cit.*, 23.

67. See A. Cutler, *Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park, Pa., 1975), 5ff.

68. W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, (London, 1908), I.7ff.; Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris*, III, 194-207, *op.cit.*, 66-7.

69. See Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II", 56ff.

70. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I.iii, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 166ff., 237ff. The Virgin's robe and girdle in Constantinople: N. Baynes, "The Finding of the Virgin's Robe", *Byzantine Studies* (London, 1955), 240-7; Averil Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople", *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 42-56.

71. See Averil Cameron, "The Cult of the Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople", *JThs*, n.s., 29 (1978), 79-108.

Sophia's prayer to the Virgin in Corippus' panegyric,[72] the feast of her Nativity newly introduced by Justin II and above all that of the *Koimesis* of the Virgin adopted by Maurice demonstrated imperial support for a growth in special attachment to the Virgin hardly experienced since the Council of Ephesus.[73] We must ask, then, in more detail how the emperors involved themselves in the cult.

A text relating to the year 619 allows us to see how intimately the Virgin's position in Constantinople in these years was connected with the imperial sphere of activity. In that year the Avars were threatening the outer walls of the city near the Virgin's church at Blachernai, which still lay unprotected. On 5th June the Emperor Heraclius suffered an ignominious blow when after going in great pomp and all innocence to meet the Avar khagan at Heraclea, he had been ambushed and only just managed to escape, carrying his crown under his arm.[74] The Avars pursued him to the very walls of Constantinople and were even able to steal imperial vestments and ecclesiastical vessels.[75] It seemed that Blachernai itself was in danger and that its treasures should be removed for safe-keeping. A contemporary text[76] tells how the casket containing the relic of the Virgin's robe was removed at the same time as the other gold and silver treasures of the church, kept in St Sophia for safety and then formally restored to Blachernai when the danger was over – probably on 2nd July 620. The description of this deposition shows that the wondrous properties of the Virgin's robe, and especially its function as a palladium for the city, were thoroughly established and familiar by this date[77] – *before* the more famous Avar

72. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris*, II, 52-69, *op.cit.*, 49.

73. The standard study is by M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (*ST*, 114, Rome, 1944); see also the excellent work by A. Wenger, *L'assomption de la Très Sainte Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle* (AOC, 5, Paris, 1955). The striking feature is the suddenness with which the cult of the Virgin (and at the same time devotion to icons) springs to the forefront of religious life; see V. and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978), 150: "visions appear at the point of major stress between contrary cultures and their major definitions of reality".

74. Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, 12ff.

75. Note the combination.

76. Loparev; see note 59 above. See also Baynes, *art.cit.*, 245; Wenger, *op.cit.*, 111ff. (the best discussion). For an English translation with explanatory notes, see Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe". J.L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI 610-715* (Amsterdam, 1972), 16, note 54, ascribes the text without argument to the context of the siege of 626, but see Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe".

77. For the Virgin as urban patroness, see S. MacCormack, "Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor and his Genius", *CQ*, 25 (1975), 149-50, and for city cults see L. Cracco Ruggini, "The Ecclesiastical Histories and Pagan Historiography, Providence and Miracles", *Athenaeum* n.s., 4 (1977), 123, note 71. The valuable study by the Turners, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, has much to say on Marian cult from an anthropological perspective but like many Marian studies is western-based and entirely omits the Virgin's cult in Constantinople and the east. Curiously, it would seem, it is Gregory of Tours who first tells of the miraculous powers of the Virgin's robe in Constantinople: Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, I.9, ed. W. Arndt, M. Bonnet and B. Krusch (MGH, *ScriptRerMerov*, Hanover, 1885-96, I.ii) 44; yet it would be wrong to underestimate the value of his evidence since it is clear that he had excellent sources for the late sixth-century east: see Averil Cameron, "The Byzantine Sources of Gregory of Tours", *JThS*, n.s., 26 (1975),

siege of 626. The writer tells the story as an exemplar of the Virgin's marvellous protection of the city as experienced in his own lifetime, and it ends with a prayer which breathes the sense of the city's dedication to her: "preserve your grace for *your own city*, and let not the eyes of men again see the holy church harmed, or *this your humble city* deserted".[78] The Virgin saved the city in 619 as well as in 626 – "turn away all attacks from it, making it manifest that *the city is fortified by your power*".[79] The writer asks the Virgin, "fount of life, treasury of salvation", to preserve the city, to give a peaceful and long reign to "our pious emperors",[80] long life to the holy patriarch, and answers to the prayers of all the people. Next to the emphasis placed on the Virgin as city protectress, the most unusual feature of the text for this date is its presentation of the emperor. He is completely absorbed into the liturgical life of the city. The decision to remove the treasures from Blachernai was taken only when Heraclius had prayed in another church of the Virgin "prone on the ground and dressed as an ordinary person";[81] as always, his prayer is accompanied by tears, the sign of piety.[82] When the emperor heard that the holy relic itself had been removed from the church – which had not, strangely enough, been the intention – he ran outside in great fear, threw himself on the ground and asked the patriarch to decide what to do. In the deposition procession which finally returned the relic to Blachernai, emperor and patriarch walked together, heading a line of civil officials, clergy and people; the patriarch carried the relic in his arms and the whole procession was bathed in tears.[83] Of course earlier emperors too had taken part in the deposition of relics. But now occasions such as these stand alone: what is more, they have come to bear the sole weight of civic and imperial unity.

If, then, the deposition of the Virgin's robe in 620 can stand for a change in the style of imperial public behaviour, the siege of Constantinople in 626 represents change in terms of the evolution of a new mythology. The same writer who recorded the deposition of the robe also wrote the address commemorating the victorious outcome of the siege.[84] Reporting the exhortation of the patriarch Sergius to the people he wrote:

> No city can be guarded unless it is guarded by God: our enemies attack us with cavalry and chariots and a great multitude, but we will be strengthened

421-6; N. Baynes, review article, *JRS*, 19 (1929), 231ff. The sources for the robe as a wonder-working relic are discussed by C. Belting-Ihm, "Sub matris tutela" *(AbhHeid*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1976), but her dating of the main development to the eighth century is undoubtedly too late.

78. Loparev, *op.cit.*, 592, 610 (my italics).
79. *Ibid.*, 611 (my italics).
80. *Ibid.*, 611; they are called *pistoi basileis* (see note 58 above). See also *ibid.*, 593, 599.
81. *Ibid.*, 594.
82. See note 31 above.
83. Loparev, *op.cit.*, 598, 601ff.
84. For the authorship of both texts, see Wenger, *op.cit.*, 115ff .; Barišić, "Le siège de Constantinople", 374; V. Vasilievskii, "Avaria, a ne Russkie, Theodor, a ne Georgii", *VizVrem*, 3 (1896), 83-95.

> in the name of the Lord God. For the Lord Himself will fight for us, and the Virgin Mother of God will be the defender of the city.[85]

When he set up the Virgin's picture on the Golden Gate the patriarch addressed the enemy:

> The fighting is wholly against these pictures, you foreign and devilish troops. A woman, the Mother of God, will quell all your boldness and boasting with one command, for she is truly the Mother of Him who drowned Pharaoh with all his army in the Red Sea.[86]

The city of Constantinople, the "eye of the Christian faith" was thus justified in expecting the protection of God and His Mother. At every doubtful moment in the next few days the Virgin was there, fighting for her city; every part of the story demonstrated her power to the inhabitants and proved the mysteries of God's mercy.[87] Even the retreating and discomfited khagan admitted that no one can fight against the Virgin.[88]

But the most telling passage in the whole text is its ending, when the author addresses the prophet Isaiah:

> But you, wise Isaiah, as you *prefigured* for me when I began my speech the deliverance of this city, so now also set your seal on my words with your conclusion and announce the good news of safety and peace for the city in the future. "Thus speaks the Lord our God: I will defend this city to save it for me and for my servant David".[89] For *our emperor is a new David* in his piety to God and his clemency towards his subjects. And the Lord will crown him with victories like David, and his son who reigns with him,[90] making him wise and peaceable like Solomon, and bestowing on him and on his father *piety and orthodoxy.* Ask this, prophet, from the God of Solomon who knows no jealousy, and beseech the Virgin, *whom you foresaw with the eyes of the mind to be truly the Mother of God, and proclaimed in words of prophecy,*[91] to save the city for ever and its people, who are sinners, but who always take refuge in God and the Virgin, from age to age, Amen.[92]

The precise events of the year 626 are thus subsumed into sacred time; the Virgin is fulfilling Old Testament prophecy, the emperor shows himself another David.[93]

85. Anon. Mai, 427.
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid.*, 429-34.
88. *Ibid.*, 434.
89. Isaiah, XXXVII.35.
90. The young Constantine, left behind in Constantinople: Anon. Mai, 425.
91. *Ibid.*, 437. See Isaiah, VII.14: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son". The homily opens on the same theme: "Isaiah the noblest of the prophets spoke, seeing far ahead through the prophetic grace of the Holy Spirit the beneficence of God the Father, that He would take flesh as the Word of God and be born from the Virgin. 'Get thee up into the high mountain to tell the good tidings to Zion' . . ." (Isaiah, XL.9).
92. Anon. Mai., 437 (my italics).
93. *Ibid.*, 425, 428, 435, 437. Besides the emphatic conclusion, the image of David as a model for Heraclius is kept before the listeners throughout the homily. Of course previous emperors had been seen as David (see Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political*

Though in fact Heraclius was away from the city during the siege, the author of the address here brings him to the forefront of his listeners' minds; still absent on campaign when the oration was delivered, it is nonetheless the emperor, not the patriarch, who occupies the most prominent position that could be accorded to a human in relation to the divine. His function is unequivocally to enact the typology of the Old Testament, and his defining characteristics are henceforth to be, in the words of the address, piety and orthodoxy.

The Virgin's cult, her robe and her icons, localized in the capital city, were thus drawn into the imperial sphere. Was this not also likely to be true of other icons, whose cult, both in the capital and the provinces, takes off at this precise moment too?

Responding to a tendency to overstress imperial example as a causative factor in the striking increase in devotion to icons in the late sixth century, and reacting also against the temptation to make Constantinople the key to all else in the empire, Peter Brown offers instead a seductive general analysis of the rise of icons in social and psychological terms.[94] They represent for him signs of a centrifugal tendency in the empire, and express the need for local and individual attachments, as well as the collective loyalties of individual provincial towns. The fate of the icon is thus part of the story of the Late Antique city.[95] Now while it is surely true that imperial sponsorship could hardly by itself go far towards explaining the vast increase in icon worship from the late sixth century onwards, I suspect nonetheless that we may still be led to a more sympathetic view of imperial involvement than this brilliant analysis would permit.

Such public and integrating ceremonies as the deposition of the Virgin's robe in 620, or the great thanksgiving ceremony after the Avar siege, when on 7 August 627 the Akathistos hymn was solemnly performed with its newly composed preface proclaiming the deeds of the warrior-Virgin,[96] gave the cult of the Virgin a special position in the mythology of the capital city. The same could be true of certain public icons; in fact the cult of the Virgin was itself now expressed as much by icons as by the relics which the city had long possessed. In 626 her picture was placed on the city gate and paraded round the walls,[97] and as we have seen, her icons themselves were felt in some way to have brought about the victory. In 610

Philosophy, II, 797, 823), but the developed typology of the Byzantine emperor as David came only later: see the inscription of Basil I in the Kainourgion, part of the imperial palace (see Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 198, on *Vita Basilii*, ch. 89). Whether or not the famous "David plates" of the reign of Heraclius relate specifically to the emperor – see Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, 150; S. Spain Alexander, "Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology and the David Plates", *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 21-37 – this text gives an exceptionally emphatic and early literary treatment of the theme.

94. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis".

95. *Ibid.*, 18, 21.

96. See 207 above.

97. Anon. Mai, 427. The best discussion of the confused sources for the icons used in this siege is still that by A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia: Poemi*, I (StPB, 7, Ettal, 1960), 143; see

Heraclius' victory over the tyrant Phocas had also been attributed to the protection of pictures of the Virgin.[98] But in 626 the Virgin's icons were flanked by pictures of Christ. The patriarch carried round the walls not only a likeness of the Virgin and Child but also an *acheiropoietos* icon of Christ.[99] When the Emperor Heraclius had left for the war in Persia in 622 – a traumatic moment, for the people of Constantinople were accustomed to having their emperor with them in the city – he held in his hands the famous Camuliana image of Christ, but committed his family and his city to the protection of the Virgin.[100]

In the context of Constantinople it is not icons which come first, in isolation. Rather, this use of icons is secondary to, and itself expresses, a growing conviction of the special protection of the city by God and the Virgin. The idea of Constantinople as the "God-guarded city" makes its first appearance precisely in these years,[101] and it was a conception which was to last as long as the city itself. It was natural that images of Christ and the Virgin would find a central place on public occasions when the city's very life was at stake, and natural too that these occasions would be simultaneously religious and imperial. And if icons were seen to be thus efficacious in the preservation of the capital, how likely they were to perform the same services in other cities, not necessarily in opposition to or reaction against the failure of central government. Icons, in other words, could be powerful symbols of integration.

Before the great siege of 626, with its concentration on the power of the Virgin, we find the emperors of this period turning, like everyone else, to the new icons of Christ "not made with human hands". The chief of these, the Camuliana image, first known in Syria in the 550s, was brought to Constantinople as early as 574.[102] By the reign of Maurice at the end of the sixth century it was being carried into battle by the emperor's kinsman, the general Philippicus, and soon afterwards used again by his successor, Priscus.[103] Thus André Grabar argued that these icons came into being precisely in the military context of the Byzantine wars with Persia

also E. Von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende, (TU,* 3, Leipzig, 1899), 52ff., 128ff.; Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin,* 31ff.; Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen,* 15, note 49; George of Pisidia begins his poem on the siege with the contention that a picture of the Mother of God will tell us all we need to know: George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum,* 1-9, *op.cit.,* 176.

98. George of Pisidia, *Heraclias,* II.14, *op.cit.,* 252; Theophanes, *Chronographia,* I, 298. See Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin,* 35.

99. Anon. Mai. 428.

100. George of Pisidia, *Expeditio Persica,* I. 139ff., *op.cit.,* 91 (clearly a Christ-icon, not an icon of the Virgin); Anon. Mai. 424, 425.

101. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* III.333, *op.cit.,* 71; see N. Baynes, "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople", *Byzantine Studies,* 248-60.

102. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene* (London, 1899), 321. See Von Dobschütz, *op.cit.,* 40ff. Its arrival in Constantinople: George Kedrenos, *Compendium historiarum,* I, 685; see Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Period before Iconoclasm", 125ff.

103. Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae,* II. 3.4-5, *op.cit.,* 73-4; I.11ff., *op.cit.,* 59ff.

in the late sixth century.[104] But that is to take too narrow a view. The use of these icons on the field of battle was rather another of the ways in which the sixth-century emperors associated themselves with a religious development already under way. Although we have no testimony to the other great *acheiropoietos* of the period, the image of Edessa, before the 590s, it too may have existed earlier, in or near 544.[105] Like the Virgin in the siege of Constantinople in 626 this image was believed to have saved its city from the Persians in 544, and whether or not this can be proved to have been a contemporary belief (I think it must have been, despite Procopius' silence)[106] the very fact that Edessenes held to it as one of their most precious articles of faith during the years that we are considering proves that the function and importance of icons in focussing city patriotism might be much the same in capital and provinces alike.

We should not seek too exclusive an explanation. The warrior-maiden was far from being the only aspect under which the Virgin was honoured in late sixth-century Constantinople, nor was it only connected with the siege of 626. On seals, for instance, she had already taken over the associations of the pagan Victory which had preceded her.[107] And indeed icons must often have served (in Constantinople too) to channel private and local attachments. But the history of the imperial capital in the late sixth and early seventh centuries shows us with total clarity how both icons and cults could themselves become the focus of urban identity, which in this vital case came to express not merely an urban but also an imperial consensus.

IV
A "SIMPLIFICATION OF CULTURE"?

Icons, then, could well be expressive of the sense of cultural integration which I see as taking over at the end of the sixth century. Another manifestation of the same impulse could be seen in literature. For the division of literary genres into

104. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin,* 31ff. Grabar would see this as part of a Constantinian "revival" (that is, the icon takes on the role of the *labarum,* the Christian standard of Constantine).

105. First mentioned in the 590s by Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica,* IV.27 ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898; reprint Amsterdam, 1964), 175. See Von Dobschütz, *op.cit.,* 102ff.; S. Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa", *Cambridge Historical Journal,* 3 (1931), 238-52; M. Mundell, "Monophysite Church Decoration", *Iconoclasm* eds. A.A.M. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), 65. Many mysteries surround the early history of this icon which seems to have originated as a painting, and was only later held to be a cloth bearing the imprint of Christ's face.

106. Procopius describes the Persian attack on Edessa in *Bellum Persicum,* II. 26-7, *op.cit.,* I, 268-82, but does not mention the icon. Crucial for its date is the sixth- or seventh-century Syriac hymn on the church of Edessa mentioning the image: see A. Grabar, "Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VI^{e} siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien", *CahArch,* 2 (1947), 41-67. For an English translation, see Mango, *op.cit.,* 57ff.

107. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin,* 35. For victory symbolism applied to the Virgin, see Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", 98-9.

"classical" and "ecclesiastical" still observed, though sometimes indeed with effort and difficulty, under Justinian, now broke down, as the "Roman" side of imperial ideology fell away. From now on – not without discomfort at first, naturally – it became more normal for literary works of the highest level, even political history and panegyric, to express the Christian modes of thought which may have been matters of daily experience but which had until now been virtually excluded from classicizing literature.[108] What are the reasons for this change? Why should it have taken place precisely at this time?

One approach is to see this development in terms of the defeat of the educated élite by the tastes of the masses – "popular devotion" in the case of religious matters, and "simplification" as applied to literary culture.[109] It is then tempting to depict the emperors of the late sixth century as "giving way", or at least as responding, to the wishes of the populace at large, while it is further implied that the visual, and therefore "direct" symbol, such as the icon, which could appeal to all equally, replaced the exclusive literary culture of the classical period.[110]

Such an explanation has the merit of explaining in simple terms a complex set of changes. But we must take care. The court literature of the reign of Heraclius, though certainly different from that of Justinian, is very far from simple. Its chief practitioners, the poet-panegyrist George of Pisidia and the historian Theophylact Simocatta, are if anything chiefly known for their learned obscurity.[111] The change may not lie only in a loss of skill: these writers actually had a different aim. Both George and Theophylact, in their clumsy way, reached a synthesis of contemporary Christian thinking and their classical literary heritage which was out of the question for Procopius and still too difficult for Agathias writing in the 570s. In the reign of

108. See, for example, Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 136ff. Many good pointers to the literature of the period are to be found in G.L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Analecta Blatadon, 13, Thessalonike, 1973), and see now R. Browning, "The Language of Byzantine Literature", *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, 1, *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. S. Vryonis, Jr. (Malibu, 1978), 103-33.

109. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 174, 180ff., 184: a "sea-change" which affected the whole structure of society. Though Brown himself has since criticized appeals to the concept of "popular beliefs" – notably in his "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", *JRS*, 61 (1971), 81, and his *Learning and Imagination* (Inaugural Lecture, Royal Holloway College, University of London, 1977) – one may perhaps still take these influential pages as an emphatic statement of a view still widely current.

110. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 181, 184. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Period before Iconoclasm", 119ff., has written of the emperors reacting to animistic ideas "carried by the broad masses of the people", a kind of "groundswell". But there is no reason for supposing that only one class of society was affected.

111. For George of Pisidia, see Pertusi, *op.cit.*; for Theophylact Simocatta, see O. Veh, *Untersuchungen zu dem byzantinischen Historiker Theophylaktos Simokattes* (Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1956-7 des humanistisches Gymnasiums Fürth im Bayern, Fürth im Bayern, 1957); Z.V. Udal'tsova, "K voprosu o mirovozzrenii vizantiiskogo istorikia VII v. Feofilakta Simokatty", *ZVI*, 11 (1968), 29-45; *idem*, "Le monde vu par les historiens byzantins du IV^{e} au VII^{e} siècle", *BS*, 33 (1972), 193ff; *idem*, *Ideino-politicheskaya bor'ba v rannei Vizantii po dannym istorikov IV-VII vv.* (Moscow, 1974). There is no overall study of the literature of the reign of Heraclius.

Justinian, the hymn-writer Romanos felt the cleavage so deeply that he could attack the classics and proclaim the victory of the "Galilaeans":[112] "Nazareth confounds Corinth".[113] George of Pisidia, on the other hand, though a deacon of St Sophia, can evoke Demosthenes without a qualm.[114] In the late sixth-century West, Gregory of Tours shared Romanos' attitude.[115] But Theophylact feels able to preface a full-scale political history with a philosophical dialogue crediting his patron, the Patriarch Sergius, with the revival of theology.[116] Thus we must not interpret the demise of secular historiography as a separate genre after Theophylact in terms of a take-over of the educated élite by the masses (for whom "monkish chronicles" are said to have been intended), still less in relation to a schematized transition from an élitist, aristocratic system to feudalism;[117] rather, it was part of a deeper and more complex impulse towards integration perceptible already in the late sixth century.[118] By contrast Justinian's reign presents agonistic features of culture and society which by the latter part of the century were on the way to resolution.

It has been suggested that the process of "simplification" followed on from the demise of the classically educated élite which up to the time of Justinian still filled

112. See P. Maas, "Die Chronologie der Hymnen des Romanos", *BZ*, 15 (1906), 21-2; E. Topping, "The Apostle Peter, Justinian and Romanos the Melodist", *BMGS*, 2 (1976), 12ff.

113. Romanos, *Kontakia*, 31, eds. P. Maas and C.A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, Cantica genuina* (Oxford, 1963), 247: Christian teaching defeats pagan learning. Similarly Christian rhetoricians would congratulate themselves on their faith and orthodoxy in contrast to pagan writers: G.L. Kustas, "The Function and Evolution of Byzantine Rhetoric", *Viator*, 1 (1970), 55-73. Grosdidier de Matons is right to point out that passages like this in Romanos do not show ignorance of the classics but rather a deliberate disdain: Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode*, 184. Browning *art.cit.*, 113, also emphasizes that the success of Romanos' hymns at all social levels indicates a changed idea of what constitutes acceptable literary expression.

114. George of Pisidia, *Expeditio Persica*, II.1-4, *op.cit.*, 96.

115. Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, preface, (MGH, *Script RerMerov.* I.ii, Hanover, 1884), 487; see W.C. McDermott, "The World of Gregory of Tours", *Monks, Bishops and Pagans: Christian Culture in Gaul and Italy, 500-700*, ed. E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1975), 117ff., 130ff.

116. See the discussion by P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 78-9. Another example of literary preciosity combined with pietistic attitudes is to be found in the anacreontic poems of Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem: see Chadwick, "John Moschus and his Friend Sophronius the Sophist".

117. On Malalas as a "popular" writer, see Z.V. Udal'tsova, "La chronique de Jean Malalas dans la Russie de Kiev", *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 575-91. And against: H.-G. Beck, "Zur byzantinischen Mönchschronik", *Speculum historiale*, ed. C. Bauer (Munich, 1965), 188-97. The fact that some works were written in a Greek that approximated to the spoken language (see Browning, *art.cit.*, 112) does not in itself prove that they were aimed at "the masses".

118. The works of the two major ecclesiastical historians of the period, John of Ephesus and Evagrius Scholasticus, clearly show the breaking down of barriers formerly strictly observed between genres. Neither has received a modern study, but see P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian*, (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1977). It is as misleading to treat secular historians without reference to ecclesiastical (Udal'tsova) as to neglect John of Ephesus because he wrote in Syriac (F. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiser-*

government and provincial administrative positions[119] – if no élite, then a vacuum, to be filled by popular values. It is assumed that the later writers were simply unable to match up to earlier classicizing standards. But it would be better to approach the question more positively. In the first place, it is by no means clear that a classical education did become significantly less available by the end of the century. even allowing for the considerable impact of Justinian's measures against pagans and intellectuals.[120] Recent scholarship tends to argue for the continuance of classical teaching in Constantinople, and to deny the existence as yet of a special patriarchal school of theology;[121] and even if such a school did already exist, it is clear enough that it taught secular as well as theological subjects, and that both kinds of teaching went on in the same place, or at least in the same area of the city.[122] Just as the traditional classicizing literature came to admit "non-classical" – that is, religious – terms and subject matter, so the "classical élite" was itself transformed. Even in the days of Justinian it had been something of a chimera, if the term implies the holding of distinct values. Of the bureaucrats who composed correct Greek epigrams in the middle of the sixth century, and were thus certainly classically educated and surely an élite, some at least were ready to admit Christian material in their poems, and it is to one of them that we owe one of our earliest testimonies to the growing cult of icons.[123] Already under Justinian it is the

kritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie, Munich, 1971). For ecclesiastical history, see now F. Winkelmann, "Die Kirchengeschichtswerke im oströmischen Reich", *BS*, 37 (1976), 1ff., 172ff.

119. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, 156, 180ff. I am not sure what could be meant by Brown's reference to "increased professionalization" in administration (*ibid.* 156): if anything, this very "scholar-gentry" itself consisted of professional civil servants, no more amateur than the Oxford Greats men who used to fill the best posts in the British Foreign Office. For the sixth-century bureaucracy, see T. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society* (Lawrence, Kan., 1971); C.N. Tsirpanlis, "John Lydus on the Imperial Administration", *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 479-501.

120. See Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 68-73; J. Irmscher, "Die geistige Situation der Intelligenz im Zeitalter Justinians", *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, eds. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (Berlin, 1964-9), IV, 334-62; and for the later sixth century, see I. Rochow. "Die Heidenprozesse unter den Kaisern Tiberios II und Maurice", *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz*, eds. H. Köpstein and F. Winkelmann (Berlin, 1976), 120-30.

121. Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 85ff.; similarly H.-G. Beck, "Bildung und Theologie im frühmittelalterlichen Byzanz", *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), 72-81; P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1974); *idem*, review of Lemerle, *op.cit.*, *BZ*, 67 (1974), 385-93.

122. R. Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century", *Byzantion*, 32 (1962), 167ff. Agathias indicates that lectures on theological subjects would naturally have been given in and around the royal stoa, where classical teaching took place: Agathias, *Historiae*, II.29, ed. R. Keydell (CFHB, 2, Berlin, 1967), 78. Theological books were sold there too: Zacharias Rhetor, *Vie de Sévère*, ed. M. Kugener (PO, II.i, Paris, 1907), 8. It was also the scene of theological disputation: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 176 (in 531).

123. Agathias, *Anth. Pal.*, I. 34, on which see Averil Cameron and Alan Cameron, "The 'Cycle' of Agathias", *JHS*, 86 (1966), 6-25, and "Further Thoughts on the 'Cycle' of Agathias", *JHS* 87 (1967), 131; R.C. McCail, "The 'Cycle' of Agathias Reconsidered", *JHS*, 89 (1969), 87-96; Cameron, *Agathias*, 12ff.; C. Mango, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting*

bishops, not civil officials, who are taking control in the cities of the empire, and with the government's blessing.[124] They are the élite, just as much as the bureaucrats themselves,[125] and many of them must at this period have received a classical education. By the late sixth century the "élite" – that is, the governing class of the empire – was an amalgam of the lay and the ecclesiastical, in which both sides had learned to be less exclusive than they may previously have been. Only when we begin to see the unifying social role of eastern bishops in the late sixth century as clearly as we do that of their western counterparts, and as forcefully as we have been taught to see the "outsider" or marginal role of holy men, shall we realize that the cultural changes of the period could have a positive, even a revitalizing side.

V
REASONS AND EXPLANATIONS

"Icons in the late sixth and seventh centuries", we are told, "expressed the continuing needs of the ancient city".[126] And the greatest of the cities of the empire was Constantinople. So too the Virgin's cult, as it took shape in Constantinople, was an urban cult,[127] shaped in the imagination on the pattern of the defence of the city against invaders. She takes possession of the city walls with her icon; she "walls" the city with her power;[128] she defends it with her robe;[129] after 626 her

Mirror (Inaugural Lecture, Univ. of Oxford, 1974), 6ff. ("highbrow" literature in the sixth century); B. Baldwin, "Four Problems in Agathias", *BZ*, 70 (1977), 295ff. esp. 298ff., would seem to put back the publication of the *Cycle* to the reign of Justinian, but leaves out of account the poems which specifically refer to Justin II and Sophia. For Christianity in the *Cycle* poems, see Cameron, *Agathias*, 5; R.C. McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus", *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 205-67; J.A. Madden, "Macedonius Consul and Christianity", *Mnemosyne*, 30 (1977), 153-9. There is no pressing reason to think that Christian poems were excluded from the *Cycle*, even though they have become detached in the extant *Anth.Pal.*

124. K.L. Noethlichs, "Materialen zum Bischofsbild aus den spätantiken Rechtsquellen", *JbAChr*, 16 (1973), 28-59; A. Hohlweg, "Bischof und Stadtherr im frühen Byzanz, *JÖB*, 20 (1971), 51-62; F. Dölger, "Die frühbyzantinische und byzantinisch beeinflusste Stadt", *Paraspora* (Ettal, 1961), 107-39; J.L. Boojamra, "Christian *Philanthropia:* A Study of Justinian's Welfare Policy and the Church", *Byzantina*, 7 (1975), 345ff.; Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours*, 17ff.

125. But little has yet been done on the social background or intellectual equipment of the clergy at this date. The following are the best guides: H.-G. Beck, "Kirche und Klerus im staatlichen Leben von Byzanz", *REB*, 24 (1966), 1-24; *idem*, "Die frühbyzantinische Kirche", K. Baus *et al., Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin der Grosse*, (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, ed. H. Jedin, 2, Freiburg, 1973-5), II, 3-92. See also F. Winkelmann, "Kirche und Gesellschaft in Byzanz vom Ende des 6. bis zum Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts", *Klio*, 59 (1977), 477-89. For bishops and clergy within the social structure of towns, see Dölger, *op.cit.*, 107-39.

126. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis", 21.

127. Just as the Virgin can be the protectress of a village in modern Spain: W.A. Christian, Jr., *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (New York, 1972), 175. Her function, in city or in village, is to "bind the people together".

128. Loparev, 611.

own church of Blachernai was walled in with a real wall of defence.[130] The walls are both real and psychological, for we can see that for the late sixth-century emperors cultural integration was a form of defence. If they defined their own position and localized it in the city by marking out its urban space in their growing and regularized ceremonial, above all if they brought the imperial and the liturgical spheres closer and closer together, there was the greatest hope for strength and continuity. In this context icons were important: the bringing of the Camuliana image to Constantinople was an essential step for a capital city which, lacking the apostolic association as well as the intellectual traditions of the other great eastern cities, was in urgent need of urban symbols of its own.[131]

So, rather than interpreting the late sixth century as a time of central weakness and general insecurity,[132] we might look for positive factors, not only in Constantinople, but elsewhere too. What holds for the later seventh century, after decades of invasion, may not, after all, hold for the sixth, nor does the fact that the eighth-century emperors saw devotion to icons as a threat to their central authority necessarily mean that Constantinople had already lost its hold on the cities in the sixth century.[133]

It may then be more fruitful to view the late sixth- and early seventh-century cities in a different way. The evidence for this vast topic is very far from being clear, still less complete.[134] In some areas external factors can easily be blamed for

129. In the Akathistos hymn she is called the "shelter of the world", an idea greatly developed in later centuries. In the words of Joseph the Hymnographer (ninth century) her robe is a "solid rampart" protecting the "queen of cities": Joseph the Hymnographer, *Mariale,* (PG, 105, col. 1009). By this time she was believed to have walked the walls of the city as early as the fifth century: Belting-Ihm, "Sub matris tutela", 39ff.

130. *Chronicon Paschale,* I. 726.

131. For the slow development of Constantinople as a city with its own ideological strength, see Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974). For the late sixth- and early seventh-century sense of the localization of the emperor in the city, see Corippus, *In laudem Iustini minoris,* I.181, *op.cit.,* 41 *urbis et orbis . . . cura* ("his care for the *city* and the world" – of Justinian); *ibid.,* II.149, *op.cit.,* 52 *lux altera fulsit ab urbe* "a second sun shone from the *city*" – Justin II raised on a shield at his inauguration); Anon. Mai, 424 (Heraclius commends his *city* to God and the Virgin); *ibid.,* 425 (a wise king is the foundation of his people and his *city*).

132. Recently reiterated in Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making,* 105.

133. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis". Approved, for example, by S.P. Brock, "Iconoclasm and the Monophysites", *Iconoclasm,* eds. Bryer and Herrin, 57; for critical reactions, however, see Haldon, "Some Remarks on the Background to the Iconoclastic Controversy"; S. Gero, "Notes on Byzantine Iconoclasm in the Eighth Century", *Byzantion,* 45 (1974), 23ff.; P. Henry, "What was the Iconoclast Controversy all about?", *Church History,* 45 (1976), 16ff.

134. Debate has moved from the seventh-century cities – where the over-strong thesis of rupture proposed by A.P. Každan, "Vizantiiskie goroda v VII-XI vekakh", *SovArh,* 21 (1954), 164-83, was somewhat toned down subsequently, notably by G. Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages", *DOP,* 13 (1959), 47-66 – to the late sixth-century situation. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (*ByzArch,* 13, Munich, 1969), and Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity", "The Fall of Sardis in 616", and "Archaeology in the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia", stress

a collapse of urban life. Thus in Greece disaster struck in the late sixth century in the shape of Slav invasions,[135] while in Asia Minor the life of many Early Byzantine urban centres was dramatically curtailed by the Persian invasions of the early seventh century.[136] But there are some indications that the shape of urban life was already changing from within. The open spaces and streets of the classical city were becoming otiose, and were increasingly overlaid by private dwellings. Often the stone of classical buildings now no longer used was taken and used in the building of defences.[137] The very configuration of Byzantine urban life was shifting. The newer pattern replacing the open unfortified sites of the Roman period consisted of a fortified *kastron* of some kind, a central church and private housing, all protected by secure walls, for which stone from disused classical buildings lay ready to be used.[138] It was an urban organization that recognized the new importance of bishops,[139] the centrality of the church in the public life of the town, and the tendency of public ceremonial to become religious ceremonial. Nor had these social changes only begun in the later sixth century, for Procopius, the "sceptic", gives us enough examples of the lead taken by small-town bishops in time of war, especially their processional rallies with relics or icons, to show that the behaviour of the Patriarch Sergius in the siege of Constantinople in 626 was merely the equivalent of

continuity up to the early seventh century. But literary evidence for plague, earthquake and invasion tallies with archaeological evidence indicating considerable change before the end of the sixth century. Final judgements are far from possible yet, but see Patlagean, *op.cit.*, 301ff.; G.L. Kurbatov, *Osnovnie problemy vnutrennego razvitiya vizantiiskogo goroda* (Leningrad, 1971). Clearly the internal logic of Byzantine towns and the nature of the élite that ran them are interconnected.

135. H.A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 276-600", *JRS*, 49 (1959), 61-72; A. Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens", *DOP*, 19 (1965), 185-206; D.M. Metcalf, "The Slavonic Threat to Greece *circa* 580: Some Evidence from Athens", *Hesperia*, 31 (1962), 134-57; S. Hood, "Isles of Refuge in the Early Byzantine Period", *BSA*, 65 (1970), 37-45.

136. See the various works of Clive Foss already cited, and also his *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), and his "Late Antique and Early Byzantine Ankara", *DOP*, 31 (1977), 29-87. Foss' survey, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia", in fact provides much evidence to counter his general thesis (most strongly expressed in "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of Antiquity") of continuity up to the Persian invasions.

137. See Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia", 472ff.; excavations at Anemourion show a decline in the use of public buildings from the second half of the sixth century: J. Russell, "Excavations at Anemurium, 1976", *Classical News and Views*, 21 (1977), 5-14; *idem*, "Anemurium, 1976", *AnatSt.*, 27 (1977), 25-9. For Byzantine shops and colonnaded streets, see Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, 16, 42ff.; Claude, *op.cit.*, 60-8.

138. See, for example, J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford, 1973), 371ff., 383 (a move to the countryside); G. Gomolka, "Bemerkungen zur Situation der spätantiken Stadt und Siedlungen in Nordbulgarien und ihren Weiterleben am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts, *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz*, 35-42; Claude, *op.cit.*, 45ff., 72ff., 85ff., Patlagean, *op.cit.*, 231ff.

139. See, for example, Procopius, *Bellum Persicum*, II.6.17, *op.cit.*, I.176. For another such ecclesiastical activist, see G. Downey, "Ephraemius, Patriarch of Antioch", *Church History*, 7 (1938), 364-70.

what bishops had long been doing in beleaguered provincial towns.[140] The institutional church rose to the occasion in the towns, took the lead, and used icons and relics to focus the loyalty of the population.[141]

It is tempting to see the shift in urban life towards the ecclesiastical and the defensive as the product of gloom and anxiety. Ernst Kitzinger writes in such terms about contemporary Byzantine art: "still and lonely figures, gaunt and remote"; "a chill has descended".[142] Yet late sixth-century art itself has another side, and is the subject of as much dispute among scholars as is urbanism in the same period.[143] Archaeologists are now learning to resist the hasty assumption that when the early Byzantines used stones – even inscribed stones – from classical buildings in their own churches and fortifications it must indicate "decline".[144] The picture is varied and complex. In agrarian and military history the most extreme dislocation of Byzantine society occurred in the seventh rather than the sixth century, and recent administrative studies tend to put emphasis on continuity up to the seventh century as well as rupture.[145] Late sixth-century authors complain about neglect, but do not suggest that they felt the system as a whole was breaking down; indeed they expect their emperors to continue the militaristic pattern set by Justinian,[146] and both emperors and writers still hold to the fundamentally optimistic view that

140. For example, Procopius, *Bellum Persicum*, II.11.14ff., *op.cit.*, I, 200; see *ibid.*, I.7.5-11; II.13.13; 20.2; 30.3., *op.cit.*, I,31-2, 210-1, 238, 296. Procopius actually gives a rather large amount of space to priests and holy men in the Persian war, despite his supposed "rationalism" so that I prefer to believe that when he fails to mention the image of Edessa in 544 (*ibid.*, II.12.26-7, *op.cit.*, I, 207-8) it is because he does not know of it, not because he was trying to disinfect his narrative of such manifestations (implied by Runciman, "Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa", 244).

141. Whereas in Peter Brown's analysis the pull of icons tends to be seen as operating outside, or against, the institutional church: Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis", 8, 22. Thus icons take over the "marginal" functions of holy men: *ibid.*, 12ff., 14-5.

142. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, 103ff. Similarly Peter Brown refers to "anxious dependence on an invisible Virgin": Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis", 29. But she was very much visible, in her omnipresent icons, and the mood was (at this point) one of confidence.

143. Not all art historians have wanted to find in contemporary works (of which few are securely dated) signs of "decline" or, alternatively, increased spirituality. Kitzinger himself has provided a classic survey indicating the variety and the problems of the art of this period: E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm", *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958). See also note 54 above, and Cameron, "The Artistic Patronage of Justin II".

144. Above all, the case of the north African towns after the Byzantine reconquest in 534 shows that there is a clear change of emphasis and use. For a survey and further bibliography, see N. Duval, "Études sur l'architecture chrétienne nord-africaine", *MelRome*, 84, *Antiquité* (1972), 1071-2.

145. Haldon, *art.cit.*, W.E. Kaegi, Jr., "Notes on Hagiographic Sources for Institutional Changes and Continuities in the Early Seventh Century", *Byzantina*, 7 (1975), 59ff. For Cappadocia, N. Thierry makes a strong case for continuity into the seventh century: N. Thierry, "Un problème de continuité ou de rupture: la Cappadoce entre Rome, Byzance et les Arabes", *CRAI* (1977), 99-144. We must remember the wide variety of urban experience co-existing at this time: see Patlagean, *op.cit.*, 233.

146. See Cameron, *Agathias*, 124ff.; Averil Cameron, "Early Byzantine *Kaiserkritik:* Two Case Histories", *BMGS*, 3 (1977), 1-17.

earthly success would be the guaranteed reward of right ideology in a God-protected empire.[147] Yet recent experience seemed to suggest that something was missing. This consciousness called forth not so much a last-ditch attempt to ward off chaos as a mental readjustment. This took several forms and was a way of coping with the general sense of dissatisfaction in the face of economic problems and military neglect at the end of Justinian's reign[148] while yet holding on to the same basic principles of imperial power as had motivated Justinian. Clearly, if success was not forthcoming, it was because God was not pleased; the logical course, therefore, was for everyone, but especially the emperor, as the head of the earthly hierarchy, to strive to make his connection with God still closer and still more visible.

The story of Constantinople in the late sixth century is not then so much at odds with that of late sixth-century cities generally as might appear. Indeed, in a sense, both are continuations of a pattern set by Justinian. For the massive church-building programme set in motion by him and continued in some places by his successors meant that from now on the great church of each community would be, even more than before, *un théâtre spirituel,* a real focus for the town which could even rival the hippodrome for the loyalties of the population, and which would provide the setting for urban ritual.[149]

CONCLUSION

But we began with the emperors in Constantinople and their assumption of a more consistent and more overtly religious role. The process was under way in the reign of Justin II, who not surprisingly also initiated a determined (though unsuccessful) effort to crush religious dissent in the shape of Monophysitism.[150] At this stage it still seemed possible to crush the dangerously centrifugal pull which Monophysitism certainly exerted. If we look more closely at the imperial symbols of the late sixth and early seventh centuries it will be clear at once that they are, above all, symbols of authority. If Justinian had tried and hoped, Heraclius succeeded in placing the emperor at the very heart of the religious as well as the political loyalties of his subjects. As the Persian Chosroes II in 626 appeared as the wicked Holophernes, so the Byzantine Heraclius became David.[151] In contemporary

147. Haldon, *art.cit.*, 165.

148. Theophanes, *Chronographia,* I, 234ff.

149. See Patlagean, *op.cit.*, 207ff. For hippodromes in the sixth century, see J.H. Humphrey, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Hippodrome at Caesarea Maritima", *BASOR,* 213 (1974), 31ff.

150. See Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II", 51ff. Justinian more than any other emperor had used ecclesiastical policy to affirm imperial authority. See, for instance, W.H.C. Frend, "Old and New Rome in the Age of Justinian", *The Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages,* ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), 11-28.

151. Anon. Mai, 424, 434-5, esp. 435 (the words of Isaiah foretold the events of 626 by *skia kai tupos* – "foreshadowing and type"). For type and antitype in early Byzantine art, see F. Van der Meer, *Early Christian Art* (London, 1967); Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics,* 99, 170ff. It was hardly possible to go on excluding this typology from the formal literary genres, yet until recently writers in these fields had largely succeeded in doing so.

minds the church during the siege was Deborah vanquishing Sisara, the battle in the waters of the Golden Horn the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, the patriarch another Moses. A mode of thought already standard in religious texts,[152] and soon as much of a stereotype as a Virgilian echo in late Latin poetry, was perhaps for the first time fully applied to a historical event involving the entire population of the city, in such a way that the emperor himself was drawn into the "thought-world" of his people.

Only now, we may suspect, was the notion of the emperor's place in the earthly and divine hierarchies, current since the early sixth century,[153] fully realized. The growing imperial ceremonial left no room for the unexpected. The "raising" of the emperor, whether on a shield or on a platform or in the royal box of the Hippodrome, symbolized his superior place on the ladder of authority, just as it recalled the rising of Christ. The emperor was, after all, the head of the body politic and the intermediary between God and his people on earth. In this "forest of symbols"[154] the crystallization of the inauguration ritual was an essential step. And the Virgin herself was a symbol of authority, the "ladder" or "bridge" between human and divine.[155] Apse mosaics of the Virgin and Child had become popular during the sixth century precisely because of her function as the means by which God took flesh, that is, as a symbol of the orthodox (and imperially sponsored) doctrine of the Incarnation. If the emperors could associate themselves with her, they too would position themselves between the divine and the human hierarchies. And in the eastern Empire in the later sixth century she is not only mother and warrior but also queen, the guise in which she could bestow power and authority on her special city and its rulers.[156] The advantage of so powerful and complex a symbol could

152. To take only two of countless examples, in the *Life* of the Patriarch Eutychius (died 582), the four patriarchs are the four rivers of Paradise, and Eutychius mounting his pulpit is Moses going up to Mount Sinai: Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii:* 30; 77, PG, 86.ii, cols. 2309; 2364.

153. See the *Ekthesis* of Agapetus (see note 17 above). Though fundamental to the Christian empire since Eusebius, these ideas of hierarchy received a new emphasis with the pervasive influence of the works of Ps-Dionysius the Areopagite (*ca.* 500). For this and for the notion of Justinian's empire as representing a "descending" (theocratic) order of government, see W. Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages,* 2nd ed. (London, 1966), 117ff. The prevailing imagery of government, reinforced by religion, would tend to accentuate the idea of hierarchy.

154. V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca and London, 1967).

155. See Cameron, "The Cult of the Theotokos", 103ff. The Akathistos hymn, newly prominent from 626 onwards, is a veritable repository of Marian typology. For the symbolic value of the Virgin, see also Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture,* 149-61.

156. Like the Virgin of Częstochowa, the national patron of Poland, as the *regina Poloniae:* while she can be seen as the Mother of Sorrows (a concept not found in the early Byzantine period) she is also regarded as the source of national victory. In the successful defence of Częstochowa against the Swedes in 1655 she too was seen by the besiegers, standing on the walls directing the siege engines and supplying the defenders with arms: A. Kordecki, *Nova gigantomachia, contra sacram imaginem deiparae Virginis a Sancto Luca depictam . . . per Suecos et alios haereticos excitata* (Cracow, 1655), 104. For the general history of

not be resisted; after all, Constantinople had long possessed the Virgin's robe, bearing the traces of her very milk.[157] How natural that this precious relic should now be revealed as a source of miracles.

In one sense this effort at realignment was a failure. It could not in itself help against the military and political problems dramatically posed by the seventh-century invasions. Constantinople found a new sense of urban unity during the siege of 626, but the Emperor Heraclius, who had triumphantly restored the True Cross to Jerusalem in 630, gave his support, aided by the Patriarch Sergius, to Monotheletism, a misguided attempt at resolving the problems of heresy and division in the eastern church which in the event caused open cleavage for more than a generation.[158] Soon Jerusalem, the site of Heraclius' triumph, fell to the Arabs, and the emperor died a disappointed man. Hardly anything is known of culture or education in the mid-seventh century. Yet somehow the emperors survived and the central government clung on. There was certainly no time now for the luxury of conscious classicism or nostalgia for the Roman past. But I would suggest that instead of supposing that a curtain fell with the seventh-century invasions, we recognize that a revision of imperial ideology and an adaptation of the educated classes to contemporary needs was already taking place from the late sixth century, and that this process actually gave to the still-existent but now for us highly obscure élite of Byzantium the strength and will to hang on until better days opened their options once again.[159]

the icon, recently highlighted by the scenes of devotion provoked by the visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland, see M. Zalecki, *Theology of a Marian Shrine: Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Marian Library Studies, n.s., 8, Dayton, Ohio, 1976). The Virgin of Guadalupe could be a warrior too: Turner and Turner, *op.cit.*, 146.

157. Loparev, 605-6. From 626 onwards, more and more stress was laid on the physical intimacy of these relics; see the works of the patriarch Germanos of Constantinople (eighth century).

158. The basic (but not very satisfactory) guide for Heraclius is A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Amsterdam, 1968-73), I-II, see also A. Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio* (Florence, 1905). For Monothelitism, see Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen;* C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1972).

159. This paper was written at the Institute for Advanced Study. Princeton, where I profited greatly from discussion with friends, especially Natalie Z. Davis, Ronald Inden and William H. Sewell, Jr.

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